Fall 1995

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine

Maryland Historical Magazine

Vol. 90, No. 3, Fall 1995

ISSN 0025-4258
 Published as a benefit of membership in the Maryland Historical Society in March, June, September, and December. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*. Second class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: please send address changes to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Composed by Publishing Concepts, Baltimore, Maryland,and printed in the USA by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania 17331. Individual subscriptions are not available. Institutional subscriptions are $24.00 per year, prepaid.

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CONTENTS

Editor's Notebook

The Quick Brown Fox and Other Ephemera

Let us now praise famous machines. The news that the Smith-Corona Company has filed for bankruptcy, putting an exclamation point to the demise of the typewriter, was shocking. In fifteen years the desktop computer replaced one of the most successful machines ever invented. Typewriter repair shops are still around but the future is clear: all of us will be tapping out—not pounding out, mind you—messages on "word processors." More and more clean copies with more and more words will spread through the global village. The question is, infatuated as we are with processes, do we have world enough and time to maintain discipline in our writing?

Writing is the process of selecting words one by one to convey thoughts and ideas logically. Writing is hard. There was something about pounding on typewriter keys that seemed well matched with the difficulty of composition. Tapping on computer keyboards as words appear on a screen is so easy that many new users experience a rush of words, a sudden fluidity. Prolixity may be the curse of progress. With typewriters we had the creative frustration of aiming crumpled sheets of paper at the wastebasket. With computers we say, ah, that sentence will work better in another paragraph, so we move the sentence easily with a few clicks, and, caught up in the thrill of it all, neglect to parse the newly constructed paragraph. Early drafts are masquerading as fully revised drafts.

With a typewriter, each retyping improved our writing. Remember how term papers got better as typing and retyping forced you to rewrite? Unfortunately, the word processor too often just makes hasty writing look neat and presentable.

Before we deposit the typewriter next to the buggy whip in history's dustbin, a touch of social history and a soupçon of romantic recollection are appropriate. When I was a child of about eight a special treat was a visit to my aunt's small-town insurance office. If the office was quiet, she let me sit in her chair and strike a few of the shiny keys of her big black Underwood. What a machine! What a satisfying clatter. Cool, a child would say today. What I couldn't know and indeed never thought about until Robert J. Samuelson pointed it out in *Newsweek* in July, was that my aunt, born in the 1880s, was typical of countless females who mastered the typewriter to fill a growing demand for literate office workers in the late nineteenth century. By 1920, according to Samuelson, half of all American clerical workers were women. Though many of those jobs were viewed later as oppressive, they were at first liberating. Before the invention of the modern typewriter by Christopher Latham Sholes in 1867, the only outlets available to American women were teaching jobs.

"Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party." "The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog." Such practice sentences (the latter using the whole alphabet) helped several generations of typists learn the craft. Starting out

in a publishing career, I fretted about mastering touch tying until I realized that it is most useful for copying and unnecessary for composition. Many a Pulitzer Prize has been won with two-fingered typing.

I've just looked at an old book jacket photo of the superb stylist E. B. White. His fingers are poised over the keys of a battered portable. He is itching, obviously, to pound the keys, to find one good word to follow another, to make the machine an extension of himself. Think of Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur pounding out *The Front Page,* and of Hemingway typing and retyping *The Sun Also Rises.* Think of Faulkner inventing Yoknapatawpha County through draft after draft of rising and falling key bars. All soulful mergers of medium and message signified by noisy clicking. No "booting up."

Maybe some of the earnest types you see tapping at laptop computers in airports and taxis are concerned with the right word following the right word, not just with speed and the telegraphic style characteristic of E-mail. Perhaps standards of well-crafted writing will eventually be thoroughly wedded to the undeniable advantages of saving, retrieving, and printing. I am not a Luddite, by the way. This magazine is largely composed by computer technology. But I, for one, miss the challenge of making words appear on paper in a slow progression measured by the satisfying clatter of a precision-made machine—feeling the road as you drive, so to speak.

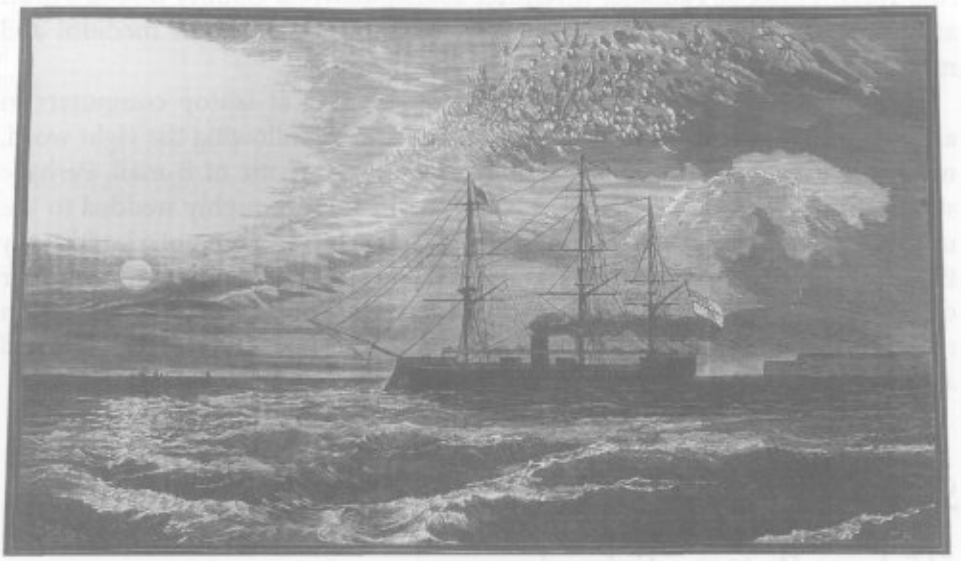
E.L.S.

Cover

Walnut Bottom School

As autumn returns to Maryland, her children make their way back to classrooms in an age-old ritual of resignation and keen anticipation. The scrubbed and polished children in this photograph returned to the Walnut Bottom School in Garrett County for the 1924–1925 school year. This one-room schoolhouse stood at the north end of Backbone Mountain amid ancient forests of hemlock and pine, a dozen miles east of Swanton. The Walnut Bottom area was home to farmers originally, but their way of life gave way to coal mining and timber harvesting. The students of Walnut Bottom School typically walked several miles to their school, where they worked without paper and pencils, doing their lessons on slates and solving arithmetic problems at the blackboard. The school was closed in the late 1920s after Governor Albert C. Ritchie's "equalization fund" brought school buses, improved teacher salaries, and new books and supplies to rural areas. The school burned around 1930, leaving only a clearing on a quiet country road. (Courtesy Garrett County Board of Education and Garrett County Historical Society.)

P.D.A.



Britain's newest warship, the Monarch, *carried George Peabody's body across the Atlantic convoyed by an American and a French vessel; it was received from the ship by a U.S. Navy squadron commanded by Admiral David Farragut. Peabody was carried from Portland, Maine, to his final resting place near Danvers, Massachusetts, in what the Guinness Book of Records still lists as the longest funeral train in history.*

George Peabody: His Life and Legacy, 1795–1869

ELIZABETH SCHAAF

1995 marks the bicentennial of the birth of George Peabody. *Maryland Historical Magazine* publishes with permission an adaptation of an article that appeared earlier this year in the *Peabody News* of the Peabody Institute of the Johns Hopkins University as an American prelude to the opening of "The Prophetic Eye: The George Peabody Bicentenary Exhibition" at the Treasury Gallery of the Museum of London (February 16–July 9, 1995). The author was curator of the exhibition, having devoted two years to researching the project in consultation with curators at the Peabody Museum at Yale University, the James Duncan Phillips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, and the Peabody Trust in London, and with archivists of other museums, libraries, and institutions founded by George Peabody.

When George Peabody was born in South Danvers, Massachusetts, in 1795, George Washington, for whom he was named, still held office as America's first president. Within Peabody's lifetime, a distinctly American culture would be forged, shaped by the industrial revolution and unencumbered by hereditary aristocracies. Peabody, a great American patriot, was to play a pioneering role in that process. Hailed in his day as "the most liberal philanthropist of ancient or modern time,"[1] Peabody is now regarded as the founder of modern philanthropy.[2] Peabody's methods of giving established a pattern that was to be followed by scores of famous men after him. He began life poor, and had only four years of formal schooling at a one-room school in Danvers, Massachusetts.[3] As he got richer, he became more and more determined to give to others the educational opportunities he had so sorely missed himself.

During Peabody's lifetime, large individual fortunes were made on both sides of the Atlantic. Science and technology promised to make all things possible for humanity. Peabody personified the spirit of an age that thought that science, the arts, and education could transform the world.

Peabody was as intent on extending America's intellectual horizons as its commercial and geographic frontiers. Wherever he lived, he founded educa-

Elizabeth Schaaf is archivist of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore.

tional institutions and museums. These institutions—Peabody Museums at Harvard, Yale, and Salem and the Peabody Institute in Baltimore—were without precedent for their times.

From the close of the War of 1812, Peabody began building the financial empire that would ultimately become the House of Morgan. The spread of maritime traffic on the lakes and rivers of North America, the rapid settlement of the Mississippi Valley, and the development of federally and state supported canals and roads in the years that followed combined to form markets for merchant enterprises like Peabody's. By 1830, the Baltimore-based entrepreneur was a senior partner and virtual director of one of the country's largest mercantile firms with branches in Philadelphia and New York.

The story of the founding of George Peabody & Company, one of the largest financial empires of the mid-Victorian age, is intertwined with the development of the era's great technological and scientific ventures. Peabody amassed the capital needed to push the American railroads westward and directed the companies that laid the first transatlantic cables.

Peabody began his working life at the age of eleven as an apprentice at Captain Sylvester Proctor's dry goods store in South Danvers.[4] For a boy from a family of modest means and limited educational prospects, serving an apprenticeship was a practical path to a trade or a career in commerce. Physicians, lawyers, and chimney sweeps took advantage of apprenticeships to learn their trades in the years before the development of American public school education.

After a brief sojourn in his brother's Newburyport drapery shop, Peabody sailed to Georgetown in the District of Columbia to enter into business with an uncle. A few weeks after the two Peabodys opened the doors of their Georgetown store on Bridge Street, war was declared with England and young George enlisted as a volunteer in the War of 1812. He served in the "United Volunteers" with Francis Scott Key, who wrote "The Star Spangled Banner" under the emotional impetus of watching the British bombard Fort McHenry. After finishing his service in the military, George returned to the mercantile life of Georgetown.

In 1815, the young man entered into a partnership with a thirty-five-year-old Marylander named Elisha Riggs (of the same family that founded Riggs Bank in Washington, D.C.), whom he had met during his brief military career. Riggs and Peabody moved to Baltimore the following year, taking up offices in Old Congress Hall on Baltimore and Sharp Streets. For the next twenty years, Baltimore would be George Peabody's home.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Baltimore's clipper ships traveled to ports of every sea and achieved wartime notoriety as the terror of British commerce, bringing the city international prominence. By 1815, Baltimore was experiencing dramatic growth in population. For ambitious young men like Peabody, commercial opportunities abounded, and they came from all over the country to seek their fortunes in Baltimore. Like Peabody, they saw the advantages of Baltimore over other Atlantic cities for trade with settle-

ments in the American West. Trade to China, Bengal, and Asia resumed after the war, and commerce and communication with Europe quickened. European imports (particularly those of British manufacture) were introduced in abundance. Business in Baltimore was at an all-time high. Nowhere else in America was the spirit of commerce as vigorous.

But the volatile business climate was fraught with peril: prices fluctuated—at times wildly—and banks issued unsecured paper currency with abandon. Yale-educated merchant John Pierpont was one of many casualties.[5] After suffering bankruptcy, he tended toward socialism and opposed the accumulation of great wealth. Ironically, Pierpont's daughter would marry the young Boston merchant destined to become George Peabody's partner and eventual head of the great Morgan empire: Junius Spencer Morgan. Pierpont's grandson (and namesake) would become Peabody's American agent, and one of his closest friends, William Lloyd Garrison, would become one of Peabody's severest critics.

Peabody steered his way successfully through the currency and banking problems that swept away the fortunes of less astute businessmen and created the foundation of his fortune. By 1820, Riggs and Peabody was flourishing and George had paid off the outstanding mortgages on his mother's farm.

The excitement of business was a welcome diversion from an endless string of family problems. When his uncle and former business partner died in 1820, leaving behind a failed business and a destitute family, George quietly assumed responsibility for their support. That same year, his brother David was arrested, a result of his excessive gambling. Then brother Thomas, addicted to drink and drifting from job to job, disappeared to South America.[6] George's youngest sister, Achsah, was chronically ill and suffered from episodes of madness. His other sisters, Judith, Sophronia, and Mary, all married men who were poor managers of money. Despite a constant stream of problems and nagging letters filled with petty family grievances, Peabody shouldered the support of his family—brothers, sisters, in-laws, cousins—the lot.

George's only comfort, as far as his family was concerned, was the knowledge that his relatives all existed miles away from Baltimore, where he could enjoy the relaxing company of good friends.[7] As he edged toward his fortieth birthday, more and more of his bachelor friends gave up spotting pretty ankles on the streets of Baltimore in exchange for the comforts of married life. He became the target of good-natured ribbing on the subject of his perpetual bachelorhood—a state not of his own choosing. He had succumbed to the charms of the beautiful Elizabeth Knox, the daughter of Dr. Samuel Knox. The formidable Dr. Knox saw little in the way of promise in the tall, poorly educated young man who wished to marry his daughter. He put an end to the relationship and encouraged Elizabeth's subsequent marriage to a banker. The banker died a failure, leaving Elizabeth an impoverished young widow with five children to raise.

To get over his broken romance, Peabody immersed himself in his business

Elizabeth Knox, oil on canvas by an unknown artist.

Peabody as a young man, by an unknown artist, oil on canvas ca. 1830.

affairs. He first traveled to England in 1827 to negotiate the sale of American cotton to the mills in Lancashire and to purchase wares for Riggs, Peabody & Company. He suffered violently from seasickness and hated these journeys. His first trip, twenty-five days across a storm-tossed ocean, left him exhausted and fifteen pounds lighter. Shortly after arriving in Britain, he wrote to his sister Mary to assure her that he had given up all thoughts of becoming a sailor.

A Genial Expatriate

After his fifth such trip, Peabody decided to settle in London in 1837, the year Queen Victoria ascended the throne. He was a well dressed, good-looking, and prosperous man in his early forties when he arrived in London. He refused to tolerate the gray that was appearing in his hair and shamelessly resorted to "African balm" to cover it up.[8] London's new resident had traveled widely on the Continent and possessed the easy-going confidence of a successful man. He enjoyed music, good conversation, well prepared food (he refused to lodge in a rooming house unless there was a fine cook on the premises), an excellent bottle of claret and, occasionally, a good bottle of aged bourbon.

Just a year after his arrival in London rumors of an impending marriage again floated among Peabody's friends. In January 1839, Peabody became engaged to Esther Elizabeth Hoppin. This beautiful young Rhode Island socialite had come to London for Victoria's coronation festivities. Alas, in the autumn Miss Hoppin returned to America and, after renewing acquaintance with an old beau, terminated her engagement. Again disappointed in love, the rejected suitor turned his attention to setting up offices at 31 Moorgate in the heart of the City of London. He was never to marry.

In 1838, Peabody had been appointed to serve as one of the commissioners for the State of Maryland charged with marketing state bonds issued to finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railway.[9] It was no small task—the market was flooded with American stocks and the possibility of repudiation hung over them like a dark cloud. Peabody was finally able to sell them to Baring Brothers, declining his $60,000 commission from the State of Maryland. Faith in American securities had reached a lamentable low. Many states, including Maryland, repudiated payment on their bonds. Confident of the integrity of the people of Maryland, Peabody assured Thomas Baring that "there is not, in any part of the world a people more honorable & high-minded or who would submit to personal sacrifice to sustain the good Faith and Credit of the State."[10] Peabody not only campaigned energetically to persuade the states to honor their bonds for the sake of America's reputation, but confidently bought the securities many believed were worthless. When Maryland and many of her sister states resumed payment on their bonds, as he predicted they would, he made a fortune.

By the 1850s, Peabody had become absorbed in London life. He was elected a member of the City of London Club on Old Broad Street (for merchants, bankers, and shipowners) and later, in the 1860s, to the Athenaeum, the most prestigious club in London, under "Rule Two" which allows for the admission of men who have distinguished themselves in the arts, sciences, literature, or public service. He made friendships with a number of New England expatriates, entertained an endless succession of American visitors, and had his own box at the opera. Later, stories spread about his frugality—which was vastly overstated, largely due to his living in rented apartments all his life. This arrangement was a logical choice for a bachelor like Peabody who had no wife to supervise a household domestic staff. He liked, however, to carry out his business dealings round a well appointed dinner table, over brandy and cigars. He could be called the inventor of the "expense account lunch." Extremely fond of hunting and fishing, he paid thousands of pounds for his fishing rights alone. All in all, he was a genial man, who took the time to pick out ribbons and bonnets for his favorite sister.

Peabody often dined with Vermont-born Henry Stevens, the "king of the rare book dealers" in London. Stevens liked to place the letters G.M.B. after his name for "Green Mountain Boy" or, as his friends teased, "Grubber of Musty Books."[11] Stevens was a strong supporter of the public library movement which conveniently provided him an expanding market that included the various Peabody libraries. Peabody also became a close friend of Yankee-born Curtis Miranda Lampson who would receive a baronetcy for his efforts in promoting the first transatlantic cables for which Peabody raised the financing. Lampson and Peabody spent many happy hours fishing together in the streams of Scotland and Ireland.

As an unofficial diplomatic eminence, Peabody promoted Anglo-American relations in numerous ways, including the holding of the first Fourth of July

celebrations in London. Memories of the American Revolution and the War of 1812 were still sore in British minds. So he took care to make his most famous Fourth of July celebration, held in connection with the Great Exhibition of 1851, socially acceptable by having the eighty-four-year-old Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo, as guest of honor. When a dispute arose at a subsequent Fourth of July banquet as to whether the first toast should be drunk to the Queen of England or the President of the United States, Peabody stepped in gracefully to propose that the first toast should be drunk to the Queen, in deference to her sex.

Of greater significance was his material support of the American exhibit at *The Great Exhibition of the World of Industry of All Nations* sponsored by Queen Victoria in London's Hyde Park in 1851. Each country was responsible for arranging and maintaining its own individual section. Joseph Henry and Walter Johnson of the Smithsonian Institution coordinated American involvement and President Fillmore provided military transport for the exhibits. When Congress, plagued with the slavery controversy and suspicious of the British, decided not to provide funds, the United States was in an embarrassing position as the only nation failing to finance its exhibitors. Crates languished on the Southampton docks for want of money to pay shipping to Hyde Park. *Punch* gleefully drew attention to "the glaring contrast between large pretension and little performance, as exemplified by the dreary and empty aspect of the large space claimed by America" and the British press proclaimed the American section "a National Disgrace."

Then, two months before the opening of the exhibition, Peabody provided the American legation with the funds needed to proceed with the installation, hoping it would prove an opportunity to promote his great cause—Anglo-American friendship—and enable his countrymen, as the *New York Times* wrote, "to achieve their first success in industrial competition with the artisans and manufacturers of Europe."

English newspapers, taking another look at the American offerings, now began to publish more favorable comments. It was reported at the time that the McCormick reaper attracted more attention than the Koh-i-nor diamond. National pride was not Peabody's only motive for supporting the exhibition. Many of the exhibitors were clients of George Peabody & Company.

Peabody financed the first Anglo-American cooperative scientific venture in 1852 when he underwrote Dr. Elisha Kent Kane's expedition to search for the British explorer Sir John Franklin, who was lost in Arctic ice. A bay off the north of Greenland was later named Peabody Bay to commemorate this act, which Peabody undertook largely out of compassion for Lady Franklin.

As the years wore on, the press of business became heavier and bouts of illness were more frequent. Apart from Peabody's personal discomfort, his illnesses sent waves of alarm through the business community. The firm needed another pair of hands. In 1852, Peabody appointed a junior partner, Charles Cubitt Gooch, a former clerk who had been with the firm for almost a decade.

The addition of a junior partner eased the burden of work for a time, but it was soon evident that Peabody needed a capable full partner. In the spring of 1853 Peabody's eye fell on Junius Spencer Morgan, a partner in a Boston dry goods firm, who was visiting London. Morgan and his family were invited to Peabody's entertainment for the new American minister at the Star and Garter in Richmond, a fashionable and expensive tavern patronized by the Prince of Wales and said to serve the best claret in England. Impressed with Morgan's social skills and business acumen, Peabody invited the young New Englander to join the firm. At Peabody's behest, Mrs. Curtis Miranda Lampson located an appropriate residence for the Morgan family on Grosvener Square for a thousand pounds per year. George Peabody & Company also moved into larger quarters at 22 Old Broad Street.

The presence of J. S. Morgan gave Peabody the freedom to begin planning for his retirement and for establishing a string of major benefactions. In London, Peabody had become part of a circle of like-minded illustrious reformers that included Lord Shaftesbury, William Cobbett, Richard Cobden, Angela Burdett-Coutts, and Charles Dickens. Unlike most philanthropists of the period, Peabody's benefactions were not intended to promote religious beliefs; in fact, he clearly stated that his institutions were not to be used to nurture sectarian theology or political dissension.

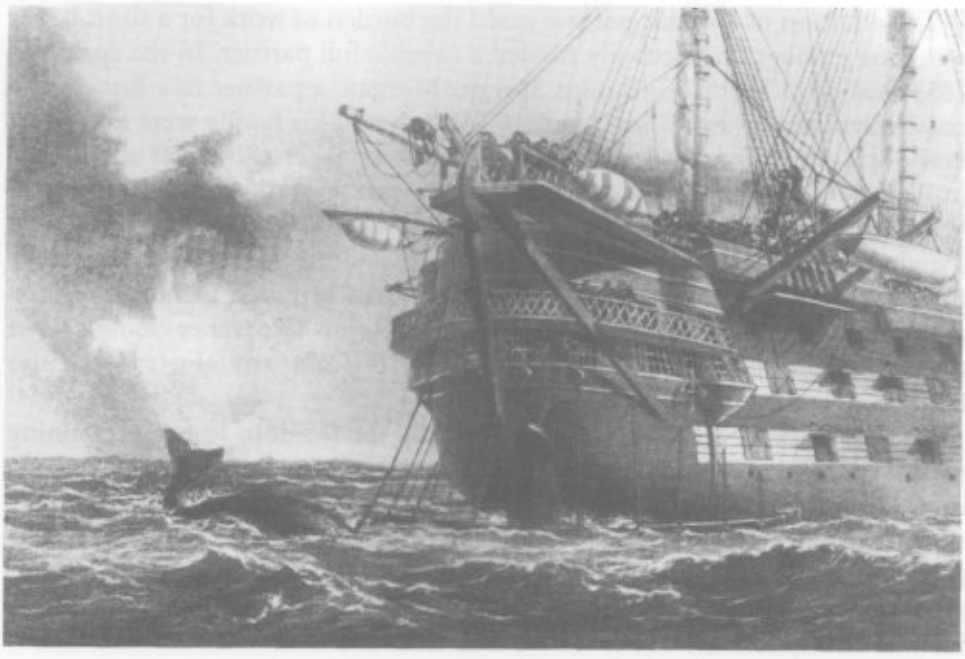
Cables under the Sea

In 1854, George Peabody & Company became involved with one of the greatest technological achievements of its time when the firm financed the laying of the first transatlantic cables. To provide the financial backing, Peabody, his new partner Morgan, and close friend Curtis Miranda Lampson organized the Atlantic Telegraph Company of Great Britain.

The promoter of the telegraph, the device that ushered in the era of modern communication, was Samuel Morse, who demonstrated his invention to Congress in 1844 by transmitting "What hath God wrought?" over rope-covered wires stretching from Washington, D.C., to Baltimore's Mount Clare Depot. A Civil War hero, Brigadier General James Monroe Deems (later the first director of the Peabody Academy of Music) wrote *The Telegraph Quickstep* to celebrate the event.

The idea for a cable across the Atlantic was not new, but no one had been willing to attempt a project of that magnitude. The American financier Cyrus Field, the promoter of the cable, turned to the head of George Peabody & Company in London for financial backing. Peabody and Morgan were clearly aware of the risks they were taking and braced themselves for failure.

In 1858, against incredible odds, the USS *Niagara* and the HMS *Agamemnon* managed to lay the first transatlantic cable linking Great Britain to the American continent. The success of the venture touched off riotous celebrations in New York City that nearly caused the burning of City Hall. Moved by



A whale interferes with cable laying by HMS Agamemnon. *Before the transatlantic cable was laid, messages between Britain and America took as long as ten days to several weeks to arrive. The cable ushered in the era of instantaneous transoceanic communication. The project also linked George Peabody, a director of the Atlantic Telegraph Company, with another former Baltimorean, Peter Cooper, who presided over the New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company (Cooper would later found the Cooper Union).*

the enormity of their achievement, Junius Spencer Morgan wrote to his son John Pierpont: "None of us can probably estimate the effects of this success upon the world—nor do we really grasp in our minds the magnitude of what has been accomplished."[12] But euphoria turned to chagrin when, after a couple of months, the cable, made of wire covered with gutta-percha, broke down in the seawater. Cyrus Field had invested heavily in the project and would have gone bankrupt but for Peabody's continued support.[13] Lampson, Morgan, and Peabody refused to give up, despite the fact that except for £150, the entire paid-up capital of the project—nearly half a million pounds sterling—had been lost, literally sunk at the bottom of the sea. A new corporation was organized and Brunel's monumental new steamship *The Great Eastern* was leased to lay a second cable. In 1865, George Peabody, Cyrus W. Field, Sir Edward Cunard, and the Prince of Wales inspected *The Great Eastern* before it put to sea.

In July the Irish end of the cable was secured and *The Great Eastern* began her voyage. Catastrophe struck in August, 660 miles from the Newfoundland coast. The end of the cable slipped from the deck and was lost in the sea. After eleven days of dragging the bottom, the line was hooked and the crew began

winching it to the surface. But after hoisting the cable up 765 fathoms, the hawser broke and the cable was irretrievably lost.

To raise more money from disheartened British and American investors for a third attempt, still another company was organized. On July 27, 1866, the cable was connected, launching the age of instantaneous transatlantic communications. *The Great Eastern* then put back to sea to attempt recovery of the 1865 cable. On September 1 the cable was located and taken on board and was spliced the following morning. On September 8 the second wire was landed and began working flawlessly. By 1868 the cable had brought in more than $2,400,000 in revenues over the cost of operations.

Plaque at 23 Great Winchester Street in London shows the progression of the business founded by Peabody.

Despite the excitements of London, Peabody never lost track of his Baltimore friends. As the years passed, exchanges of news of engagements and marriages gave way to similar reports for their grown children. Complaints of rheumatism and gout and then news of the passing of close friends, family, and business associates replaced the happy bantering of years past. Peabody's health was becoming a recurring problem. Fearing that his condition might be premonitory of apoplexy, his friend Horatio Ward suggested that he "eat numerous good dinners and drink good wines, without taking a great deal of exercise."[14]

With Honor in His Own Country

In 1856, George Peabody made his first journey back to his native country in almost twenty years (it was no coincidence that sea travel had improved considerably). He arrived in New York to an enthusiastic welcome—the American hero who had made possible the triumph of the American exhibition at the Crystal Palace and famed Fourth of July celebrations—and then traveled on to Massachusetts for the opening of the Peabody Institute in the town of his birth, South Danvers. The town put on a spectacular celebration for the benefactor of their new library and lyceum.

After Danvers, Peabody traveled to New York, Toronto, and Montreal, and then began a long journey through the American South and West over the country's expanding rail system. In Baltimore he was honored with receptions at the Maryland Historical Society and the Maryland Institute. In earlier years, many evenings had been spent talking over the needs of the city with his friends John Pendleton Kennedy, Reverdy Johnson, and Charles James Madi-

son Eaton. Peabody, a practical businessman, recognized the strength America could derive from building its own distinctive educational and cultural institutions. His Baltimore institution would be the grandest in concept and design. He asked Kennedy to draft the letter founding the institution that would transform the city but, always publicity shy, departed before the news of his gift was made public.[15]

Peabody had to wait nine years until the guns of the Civil War were silenced before the doors of his Peabody Institute in Baltimore could be formally opened in 1866. The Civil War had sharply divided the American community in London. While reformers stood firmly behind the Union, the majority of the British upper classes were sympathetic to the plight of the South. In the United States, Peabody was accused of being a "rebel" sympathizer, and a bill to "impeach" him was introduced into the U.S. Senate (though he held no elected office). Actually, Peabody was actively working on behalf of the U. S. government, unlike William Walters, founder of the Walters Art Gallery, whose Southern sympathies prompted him to relocate to Paris for the duration of the war. In point of fact, the emissaries dispatched to England by Abraham Lincoln sought and received Peabody's help in securing Great Britain's continued support of the Union.

The dedication of the Peabody Institute on a cool and bright October day in 1866 marked the dawn of a new era. The elderly George Peabody traveled from London to preside over the opening. He stood on the institute's front steps, towering over the dignitaries crowding around him. Observers at the festivities had no difficulty picking the snowy haired six-foot-one founder out of the throng. Wearing stove-pipe hats, mustaches, and dignified expressions, the institute's trustees stood at his side, awkwardly clutching the bouquets that had been presented to Mr. Peabody. Thirteen trustees had supported the Union and ten the Confederacy. The two sides had not met socially during the course of the War. The dedication became for them a reconciliation.

Women and children leaned out of the windows overlooking Mt. Vernon Place to watch 18,000 school children parade by. George Peabody bestowed kisses on young schoolgirls as liberally as he had shared his wealth. The sidewalks overflowed with ladies in hoop skirts and somber-clad men. Boys in knee pants perched atop the iron railings in front of the institute to get an unobstructed view of the scene.

Peabody's address was an intensely personal one, tinged with nostalgia. He talked of coming to Baltimore as a youthful merchant at the age of twenty to open his offices in Old Congress Hall, and of his deep attachment to the city: "I never experienced from the citizens of Baltimore anything but kindness, hospitality and confidence."[16] He told of looking over a list of Maryland's principal firms and import merchants dating from his early years in Baltimore and finding that he was one of only seven survivors from more than one hundred and forty-five names.

Peabody used the occasion to respond to critics who had accused him of dis-

On the morning of the dedication in 1866 George Peabody stood on the institute's front steps, towering over the dignitaries crowding around him. This photograph was taken by Washington photographer Richard Bell from the top of the base of Baltimore's Washington Monument.

loyalty to the Union. He had, in fact, spent the war years supporting the Union and by the close of the war three-fourths of all of his property was invested in U.S. government and state securities. Nonetheless he resolutely defended his right to maintain his friendships with many of those who had cast their lot with the Confederacy. One of those was his old friend, William Wilson Corcoran, founder of the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C.

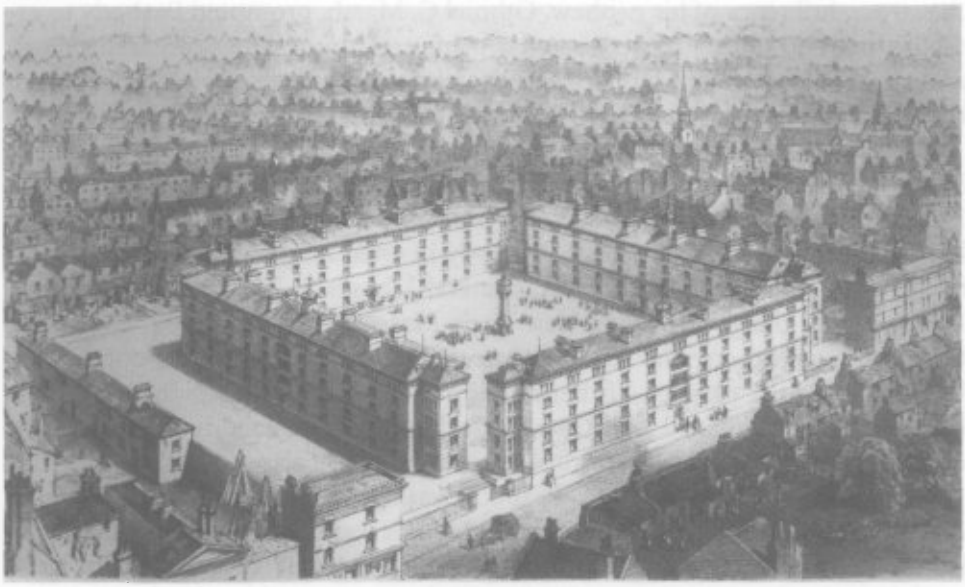
The dedication was an international event covered by major newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. The new institution was a source of considerable pride to Marylanders and to the relief of everyone in the state, the press praised Baltimore without using the frequently applied sobriquet "Mobtown."

Now known internationally for its conservatory of music, the Peabody Institute provided the city with a public library, a public lecture series, an academy of music, and an art gallery, and exerted a profound influence on the development of the city. Peabody's example also directly inspired his Baltimore friends and business associates—principally Johns Hopkins, Enoch Pratt, and William and Henry Walters, who went on to found the Johns Hopkins University, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, and the Walters Art Gallery, respectively.

No. 7 Pheasant Court, Grays Inn Lane, Second Floor Front Room. A world away from Peabody's London with its elegant squares and terraces were the seething rookeries of Holborn and St. Giles. The acres of London slums contained tenements with basements awash in sewage and upstairs rooms so packed with humanity that the dead often lay packed amid the living for days. As many as thirty people crowded into dank rooms with straw-filled bags and piles of rags for furniture.

During his London years, Peabody had grown acutely aware of the poverty and slums in Britain and on the continent. He became acquainted with the philanthropic activities of J. Passmore Edwards, Lord Shaftesbury (who was later consulted with regard to Peabody's gift to the poor of London), Baroness Burdett-Coutts, and the American financier (and full partner in the House of Baring) Joshua Bates, who was instrumental in founding the Boston Public Library. In 1862, London newspapers published a letter from Peabody establishing the Peabody Trust that would provide homes for the working poor, his gift to the city where he had spent his mature years.

The grateful City of London erected a statue honoring Peabody on Threadneedle Street in the heart of the financial district. It still stands today. An enormous throng came to watch the unveiling of the statue by the Prince of Wales. But Peabody made it a point to be thousands of miles away from the scene. Shunning public adulation, he had returned to Massachusetts carrying a letter of gratitude from Queen Victoria for a gift "wholly without parallel." Britain's monarch was referring to the establishment of the Peabody Trust, heralded at the time as "the most dramatic event in the history of Victorian housing."[17] The trust still exists for the same purpose today, housing more than twenty-five thousand people. Had Peabody been willing to give up his American citizenship, he would have been offered a baronetcy for his service to the people of London. In its place he was given a remarkable jeweled portrait of the Queen.



Islington, London. Peabody's gift to the poor of London was the largest of all his benefactions. His purpose was ". . . to ameliorate the condition of the poor and needy of this great metropolis and to promote their comfort and happiness." The gift provided healthful, comfortable, and economical housing.

Peabody is one of only two Americans throughout history who have been honored with the "Freedom of the City of London." (General Dwight D. Eisenhower would be the second.) By his pioneering, tireless efforts to promote a better understanding between the two nations, George Peabody was laying the groundwork for the Anglo-American transatlantic partnership that was to change world history in our own century. Since the days when the Peabody Trust was first established, the American ambassador in London has served on its board of trustees.

Among the honors that rained down upon London's favorite American after the establishment of the Peabody Trust was an honorary degree from Oxford University. After the elaborate ceremony, George Peabody consented to be photographed by a young Oxford don and amateur photographer named Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll, author of *Alice in Wonderland.* Peabody received an honorary degree from Harvard University as well.

On his visits to his homeland, Peabody had observed the rapid expansion of its cities and its industries. Directly involved in the development of the West through his railroad interests, he was (remarkably for his time) keenly aware of the devastating effects of that development. Peabody wrote compellingly of "the gradual obliteration or destruction of the works and remains of the ancient races" then taking place on the American continent. This concern, and

the strong influence of his nephew, Othniel C. Marsh, prompted Peabody to establish in 1866 both a museum and a professorship of American archaeology and ethnology at Harvard as well as a professorship in paleontology (the first in the Western Hemisphere) and a museum of natural history at Yale University.

Appalled by the devastation of the South in the American Civil War, George Peabody made his single largest benefaction in 1867. The Peabody Education Fund established a public education system for the Southern states. At least a hundred years ahead of his time, Peabody insisted on providing equal educational opportunities to both races. General Ulysses S. Grant, Admiral David Farragut, and the governors of New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina were among the fund's trustees. Despite Peabody's support of the Union during the conflict, his benefaction drew bitter criticism from the abolitionist editor William Lloyd Garrison, who attacked Peabody for his Southern sympathies and for his failure to speak out against slavery.

For his Southern benefaction, Peabody was awarded a Congressional Medal in 1867. Only eighty-six Congressional Medals were conferred during America's first century (George Washington being the first recipient). The gold medal, resting in an intricate miniature sculpture, was said to be the most unusual one ever made in the United States.[18]

In 1868, Peabody made his last visit to the Continent. In Rome he sat for William Wetmore Story, who had been commissioned to make the statue that would stand in Threadneedle Street and its counterpart for Baltimore's Mount Vernon Place. During his stay he was received by Pope Pius IX. Returning through Paris, he was received by Emperor Napoleon III and the Empress Eugenie. The following year, ill and depressed over the death of an old friend, Sir James Emerson Tennent, he made his last visit to the United States. It was on this trip that he met with General Robert E. Lee, William Wilson Corcoran, Johns Hopkins, and a group of distinguished Southern generals at White Sulphur Springs to discuss the plight of education in the South. The ailing Peabody was unable to attend the ball given in his honor.

He returned to England weak and desperately ill. Queen Victoria expressed her hope that he could come to recuperate at Windsor where she could visit quietly with him.[19] Too sick to be moved, he remained at the home of the Lampsons, on London's Eaton Square. Late in the evening of November 4, 1869, surrounded by his closest friends, he quietly passed away.

His death unleashed unprecedented funeral obsequies. The carriages of the Queen and the Prince of Wales followed the hearse from Eaton Square to Westminster Abbey where Peabody's body had an interim interment, the first American to be so honored. William Gladstone was among the mourners in the abbey who heard the bells of London begin to toll at the close of the service. The rarely paralleled honor of sending a Queen's ship as "funeral-barge" was enhanced by the selection of the newest vessel in Her Majesty's Navy, the *Monarch*, to carry George Peabody's body to its final resting place in Danvers, Massachusetts.

George Peabody at White Sulpher Springs, summer 1869. This Anderson and Johnson photograph is regarded as one of the most remarkable images of the Reconstruction era. Peabody shared a cottage with Robert E. Lee, Johns Hopkins, and William Wilson Corcoran. Pictured standing left to right are Confederate generals James Connor, Martin W. Gary, John B. Magruder, Robert D. Lilly, P. G. T. Beauregard, Alexander R. Lawton, [Virginia Governor] Henry A. Wise, and Joseph L. Brent. Seated left to right are Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, Robert E. Lee, George Peabody, William Wilson Corcoran, and James Lyons.

In America, legislatures adjourned in a body to attend the reception of Peabody's remains in the harbor of Portland, Maine. The Eastern Railroad Company fitted a train with special funeral cars for the trip to South Danvers. Peabody's funeral train is still listed in the Guinness Book of Records as the longest in history. Eulogists outdid themselves, proclaiming Peabody nobler than Sir Thomas Gresham, Benjamin Franklin, Florence Nightingale, Vincent de Paul, and the Sisters of Charity. His body was finally laid to rest at the Harmony Grove Cemetery on a hillside near Danvers, where he had tended sheep as a boy.

Back in 1848, John Jacob Astor, New York's richest man, bequeathed $400,000 to establish the library bearing his name. Peabody's benefactions, totaling more than $7 million, were made during his lifetime. To be sure, his benefactions have been overshadowed by the much larger contributions of later donors, but it was he who set the example and established the pattern followed by Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and the other great late nineteenth-century philanthropists. The Peabody Donation Fund, which provided housing for London's poor, and the Peabody Education Fund, which helped to heal the wounded South, were the prototypes for the modern philanthropic

The funeral of George Peabody at Peabody, formerly South Danvers, Massachusetts, 1869.

foundation, but it was not until the twentieth century that these models were widely emulated.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century Andrew Carnegie argued that the wealthy had a moral obligation to give away a portion of their assets. He advised fellow millionaires to make their benefactions during their lifetimes to insure that the funds were directed towards the uses they intended. He then cited the man who inspired his philosophy toward charitable giving. That man was George Peabody.

Note: All illustrations in this article are courtesy of the Archives of the Peabody Institute of the Johns Hopkins University.

NOTES

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The Lloyd Street Synagogue was constructed by the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1845. This, the oldest known photograph of the exterior, was made by D. B. Stiltz in 1864. The synagogue served several congregations during more than a century of use, including a short period as a Catholic church. It still stands today as part of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland's museum complex. (Jewish Historical Society of Maryland. Courtesy Ross J. Kelbaugh.)

Color and Camouflage in Baltimore's Lloyd Street Synagogue, 1845–1991

BERNARD P. FISHMAN

When historic buildings are survived only by photographs or written descriptions, it is easy to appreciate the magnitude of the loss. The emotional sense of a building's style and space, the texture and quality of its materials, and the loftiness or mediocrity of its architect's vision can never be fully recalled when the structure itself has vanished. Even when a building survives, in whole or in part, what can be seen has often been so altered through the years that an arduous effort is required to restore, even imperfectly in the imagination, the structure's actual appearance at any particular moment in time.

Among the most evanescent aspects of any building are its surface paint colors and decoration, which are susceptible to fashion and need to be renewed periodically in normal use. Examination of these hidden surfaces can reveal not only submerged bits of decorative history but also the attitudes of the people responsible for them.

Baltimore's surviving "historic" buildings include the Lloyd Street Synagogue, built in 1845, the first Jewish house of worship erected in Maryland and now the third oldest synagogue building in the United States.[1] A sense of the value of the preservation of local Jewish history crystallized around this structure in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The building's history is complex, and its ultimate rescue, stabilization, and incorporation into what is now the three-building museum complex of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland (JHSM) is a cautionary tale for those interested in examining the vicissitudes and subjectivity of historic vision and interpretation.

The Lloyd Street Synagogue was dedicated on September 26, 1845, having been built for Baltimore's first chartered Jewish organization, the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (formally *Nidche Yisrael,* the Scattered of Israel), founded in 1829. Early membership was largely of Dutch origin[2] though Germans from Bavaria soon dominated the congregation.[3] Rapid growth resulted in a number of moves among rented quarters until it was decided to erect an actual synagogue building. This was designed by the popular church architect Robert Cary Long Jr. in the style of a modified Greek temple. Four Doric columns supported a portico attached to a rather stunted brick building with

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Interior of the Lloyd Street Synagogue, 1995. The Star of David stained glass window survived all of the alterations and still hangs above the Torah ark. The ark in this photograph is a reproduction of the one built in 1860. (Photograph by Jeff Goldman.)

four long windows on each side. The whole rested on a basement level sunk half below street grade and built of rough fieldstone, with trimmed and finished granite blocks at the front. Two newspaper articles describe the building in its earliest manifestation, the most informative being that of Isaac Leeser in the *Occident*,[4] which mentioned the unusual use of closed pews, the presence of a colored glass window in the design of a Star of David over the Torah ark, where the Torah scrolls are kept, and the absence of a separate *tevah* (a raised, often enclosed podium with a table for holding the Torah while it is being read). Of interior painted decoration Leeser mentioned only that the "ceiling is quite plain." The description in the *Baltimore American*[5] explained this plainness: "The whole exterior is painted in one uniform stone tint. The interior wood work is painted . . . a warm drab color and the walls and ceilings when dry are intended to be finished in fresco." It is not known whether the contemplated fresco work was soon executed, but a notice of 1853 in the *Baltimore Sun* refers to frescoeing "in a modest yet very becoming style of work" having been applied to the ceiling at that time.[6]

The synagogue's subsequent congregational history was eventful,[7] with the arrival and later the aggrieved departure of Abraham Rice, the first ordained rabbi to practice in the United States,[8] the establishment of what may have been the first Hebrew day school in the country, the departure of offspring congregations, and continuing growth. The congregation grew so swiftly, in fact, that in 1860 the synagogue trustees decided to enlarge the building physically with an extension of some thirty feet. Robert Cary Long Jr. having meanwhile died, another local architect, William H. Reasin, completed this work in the exact style of his predecessor, though a new ark was made, new pews were added, two new exterior doorways were applied to the facade, presumably to accommodate larger crowds, and the Star of David window was moved to the new east wall. The account in the *Baltimore American* of the synagogue's reconsecration on the completion of this expansion mentioned the existence of presumably new fresco work[9] but, except for a description of the new ark itself, gave no further details about the interior decoration.

The oldest known photograph of the synagogue's interior is no earlier than 1958, when renewed interest in the building's historic character encouraged the taking of photographs for the Historic American Buildings Survey.[10] A single copy of an 1864 exterior photo taken by D. B. Stiltz and Company survives, however, in a private collection.[11] This faded *carte de visite* shows the facade as similar to that of today, though with some now-vanished iron gates and lamps, different lines for the gutters and downspouts, and, most interestingly, the absence of the two oculus windows now present in the west facade, one in each of the elevations flanking the portico (two others are similarly placed on the east, rear, wall, and all four are now filled with fairly modern stained glass). These little "round headed" windows displeased Rachel Wischnitzer, who in her pioneering study of American synagogue architecture blamed them for the Lloyd Street Synagogue's "conspicuous deviation from Greek precedent."[12] The pho-

tographic evidence confirms that these windows were later additions to the original design of the building, and so a departure from correct Greek Revivalism must now be looked for in other details, like the Star of David stained glass. This earliest photograph also shows that the building was still painted in the "uniform stone tint" of 1845, appropriately enough for a brick building that sought to mimic a Greek temple made of stone.

Reform and Function

Like most other early American Jewish congregations, the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation began worship in an Orthodox tradition, although the liberalizing tendencies it soon showed were an important factor in the departure of Rice, its first rabbi.[13] By 1870 the congregation had proceeded so far in a Reform direction that it entirely alienated its traditionalists, who, after seeking legal means to stop the avalanche of change, resigned in a group and formed their own congregation, Chizuk Amuno, which in 1876 built its own synagogue just down the street.[14] Thereafter, Baltimore Hebrew rapidly became Reform in all but name, and officially joined the (Reform) Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1892.

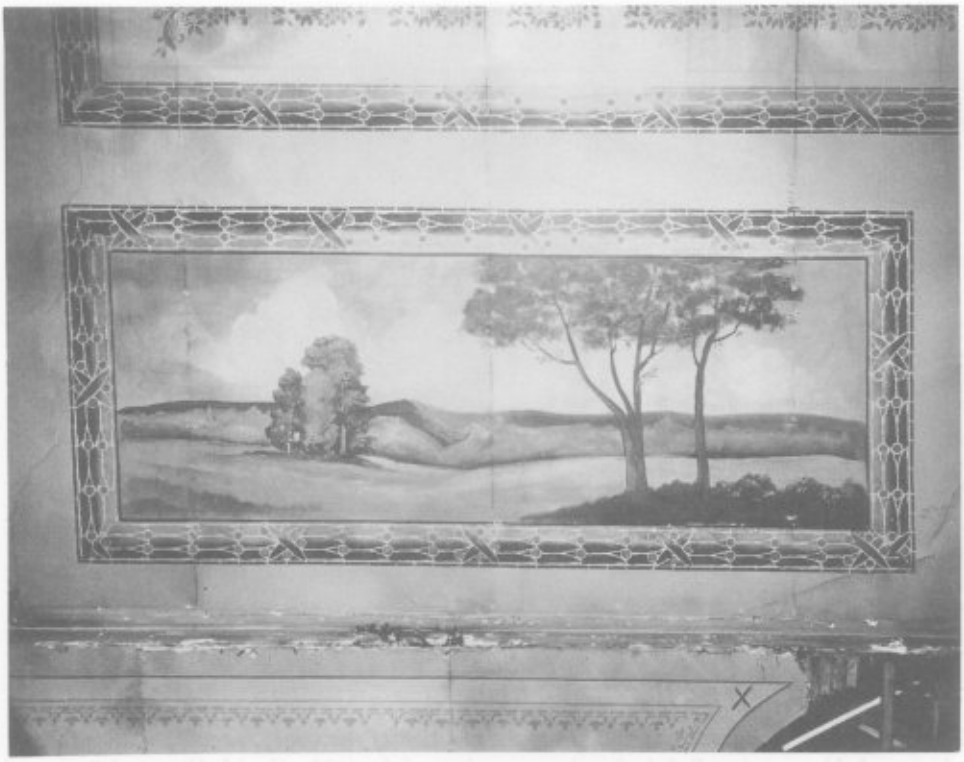
This change had architectural implications as well, for the congregation determined in 1871 to remodel the synagogue interior in conformity with the new thinking.[15] The principal physical effect was the shifting of the reader's desk (*tevah* in Hebrew or, more commonly today, *bimah* from the Greek) from its traditional central location amidst the seats to a place adjacent to the formerly distant ark, to form the kind of single unit of ark and platform, usually fronted by an elevated podium as well, which today is characteristic of most American synagogues and of virtually all Reform ones. The effect of this alteration was to permit the Torah readers and clergy to face the congregation from one end of the building during services. The building was repainted and provided anew with gilding and fresco painting, although the surviving reports make no mention of the colors or the designs. There is, however, a reference to "several" painted windows provided as part of this general project by a local firm.[16] Since only the single Star of David window is known to have been in the building before, it is likely that the four "round headed" windows were inserted into the previously blank brick walls at this time. These windows were first recorded in a rather indistinct halftone image from about 1905[17] that reveals a smaller Star of David design, but only unrecorded fragments of the glass were left when the JHSM purchased the old synagogue in 1963.

The subsequent decorative history of the Lloyd Street Synagogue is hazier. In 1889 the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation sold the building in preparation for its move to a grand new synagogue in a more fashionable uptown neighborhood,[18] and the old synagogue became a Catholic church called St. John the Baptist, serving a Lithuanian immigrant population. The church's *Notitiae*, summaries of the parish's spiritual and financial condition, survive for the

The Lloyd Street Synagogue ca. 1905. Note the addition of the small, round "oculus" windows which probably were installed during the renovations of the 1870s. (Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.)

years 1891–1905 and include various sums spent for improvements and repairs, reaching a high of $1,559.08 in 1893.[19] The church did not alter the stained glass windows with their Star of David designs, perhaps because it could spare no money to change decorative elements not directly in conflict with doctrinal requirements.[20]

Subsequently the church saw its East Baltimore neighborhood grow overwhelmingly Jewish with the arrival of large numbers of Eastern European Jewish emigrants and, having at last outgrown its building, in 1905[21] arranged to sell it to an immigrant Jewish congregation, Shomrei Mishmeres Hakodesh, founded in 1892 by Ukrainians from the province of Volhyn.[22] Shomrei Mishmeres immediately undertook a campaign to renovate the former synagogue, soliciting funds from wealthy members of the whole Jewish community and even from the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, the original builder.[23] Among the surviving records from Shomrei Mishmeres there is no documentation of the construction or decorative work undertaken soon after the building changed hands. On stylistic and typological grounds, however, it is evident that the synagogue ark present in the building when it was bought much later by the JHSM, the central *bimah,* the women's gallery banisters and rails, perhaps one of the basement *mikvaot,* or ritual baths, and an oven for baking



These scenes of the Holy Land were painted about 1910 on the ceiling of the Lloyd Street Synagogue when it was occupied by congregation Shomrei Mishmeres Hakodesh. This reflected the decorative traditions of Jewish congregations in Ukraine, home to many of the congregation's founders. (Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.)

matzoh inserted under the main staircase, were all added in the 1905–1910 period. The general effect was to return the synagogue's interior to a more traditional arrangement. At the same time there was applied to the ceiling an assortment of painted scenes from the Holy Land and Jewish symbols. The congregation being a highly Orthodox one, the scenes showed no human images.[24]

Of later construction or decorative work done in the synagogue by Shomrei Mishmeres, one major project is documented. In February 1936 a contract was made to provide for a new coat of plaster on all wall surfaces of the sanctuary, except for the ceiling.[25] This work also involved extensive removal of existing plaster, the application of gold leaf to 325 ceiling ornaments, and the repainting of the ark.[26] Perhaps these projects were made necessary by a fire in November 1933, which sent sixty members of the congregation running into the street when flames appeared during a service.[27]

Decline, Documentation, and Rescue

By the 1930s the synagogue no longer flourished. The cessation of new Jew-

ish immigration and the growing prosperity and Americanization of the settled Jewish families led inexorably to the decline of the synagogue's somewhat squalid neighborhood as a Jewish residential quarter. The younger people were moving out to a series of new neighborhoods in the northwest part of the city; by the 1950s only the oldest and the poorest Jews remained. Shomrei Mishmeres declined with its surroundings and does not appear to have conducted regular services after 1956.[28] The building was closed and became the responsibility of a handful of aging trustees.

The topography of the neighborhood was altered almost unrecognizably in the 1950s when a series of public housing projects cut enormous swathes through the old, densely built-up blocks, coming near the derelict Lloyd Street Synagogue itself. The synagogue's owners, realizing they could no longer maintain the property, began negotiations for its sale with neighboring businesses. Purchase of the building and subsequent demolition seemed imminent.

Renewed historical interest in the building saved it from destruction. This interest first came alight in Wilbur H. Hunter Jr., the (non-Jewish) director of Baltimore's municipal museum, known then as the Peale Museum, who in 1958 identified the Lloyd Street Synagogue as one of thirteen Baltimore structures deserving documentation by the Historic American Buildings Survey.[29] The first interior photographs ever taken of the building were then made, and an extensive, though not entirely accurate, report on the building was prepared. Hunter recognized that the structure was in danger. Through his talks and letters he engaged the interest of the president and rabbi of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in the building's fate.[30] Continuing discussions of the matter within the Jewish community resulted, in 1960, in the organization of the JHSM, in large part to address the issue of the synagogue's preservation and to seek some means of ensuring its survival.

It is worth noting some of the backgrounds of the nineteen men and women who founded the JHSM, for they were the preponderant influences in both the purchase of the Lloyd Street Synagogue and in determining how it was to be restored and redecorated. Sixteen of these individuals were associated personally with the Reform movement or worked for agencies of the Associated Jewish Charities and Welfare Fund, the Baltimore Jewish federation whose educational and social service entities often had a Reform character (though two of the founders closely connected with the AJCWF had personal ties to "modern" Orthodox congregations, and one, at least for a time, was a member of a "traditional" Orthodox congregation). Six among these sixteen were specifically affiliated with the (Reform) Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, which had the most direct interest in saving the synagogue, and three were associated with another Reform congregation, Temple Oheb Shalom. Of the three not specifically connected with Reform congregations or the AJCWF, one was affiliated with a Conservative congregation, one was the rabbi of a "modern" Orthodox congregation, and one belonged to a traditional Orthodox congregation.[31]

So only five of the nineteen had personal connections with the local Ortho-

The Jewish Historical Society of Maryland purchased the synagogue from the trustees of Shomrei Mishmeres Hakodesh in 1963. The founders of the society then attempted to restore the building to its "original simplicity and beauty." This move back to the 1840s erased many of the later architectural changes. Pictured left to right are settlement officer Edward C. Golder, JHSM President Hugo Dalsheimer, Shomrei Mishmeres officers Tobias Miller and Wolf Silverberg, and lawyer Harry M. Miller.

dox community, and the collective assembly had a pronounced inclination toward the Reform element of Baltimore Jewry. Even more significantly, none of the society's founders represented or were affiliated with the smaller traditionally observant Jewish congregations, or with Baltimore's Orthodox rabbinical seminary, or could present themselves as credible representatives of the strain of local Jewish expression of which the fading Shomrei Mishmeres was an example. Indeed, the founders did not include, even on a *pro forma* basis, any of the surviving members or directors of Shomrei Mishmeres, who, although referred to by the president of the society as "elders" with whom negotiations were to be "opened,"[32] were in society minutes more honestly described as "a small group of elderly Jews."[33] This distance from the actual owners of the synagogue was expressed in similar terms by Wilbur Hunter himself, who was quoted in 1968 by the *Baltimore Sun* as recalling that he had found the synagogue dirty and run down, with eleven old men in the basement belonging to a very Orthodox Russian-Jewish congregation.[34]

Another *Sun* article, giving general background information on the synagogue and presumably quoting informants from the JHSM, refers to the Lloyd Street congregation's poor attendance in its Shomrei Mishmeres years, and places its "hard times" as far back as 1889, "after its sale first to a Lithuanian Catholic church and then to another Jewish congregation."[35] Such assertions clash markedly with the recollections of many who, before the World War II, found Shomrei Mishmeres a bustling, lively, and uplifting place. Joseph Attman recalls his first introduction to Shomrei Mishmeres in the 1920s: "There were a lot of people there. They were 100 per cent Orthodox and . . . they would be there day and night . . . the children would get up early in the mornings to go . . . the *shul* used to be packed—you couldn't get in on the High Holidays."[36]

Nowadays life in the old Jewish immigrant neighborhoods is often thought of, mainly by those who know it only third hand, as nostalgically sweet, its hardships softened by the recollection of an active communal life leavened with religious commitment. But for the Americanized, largely Reform founders of the JHSM, a few of whom could actually remember the deprivation they grew up with, the old neighborhood and its associations had little to recommend it. Louis F. Cahn, the society member who played the largest role in directing the Lloyd Street Synagogue renovation, told an interviewer in 1964 that "this neighborhood holds nothing but unpleasant memories for many members of the present generation. It recalls a poverty-stricken existence in a ghetto."[37] So it was with a strong reserve toward the building's recent history that the members of the new Jewish Historical Society of Maryland approached the task of trying to rescue the old Lloyd Street Synagogue.

The negotiations were neither smooth nor swift. The representatives of Shomrei Mishmeres reciprocated the society's mistrust and uncertainty. In particular, the Orthodox owners of the old synagogue feared that the society's interest in the building masked a desire to transform it into a Reform temple, though its site was far from the neighborhoods where most Jews lived and was, indeed, in a part of Baltimore that was ceasing to be a place of voluntary residents at all. It took nearly two years for the parties to agree on a purchase option which included, to neutralize the issue of denominational worship, the provision that the building must remain closed on Saturdays and on all other major Jewish holidays.[38] Finally, on February 15, 1963, occurred the formal purchase of the synagogue by the society, which had already started a fund-raising campaign for renovation and maintenance of the building as a museum, historic site, and general educational resource.

Original Simplicity and Beauty

Since the society's founders and the members of its restoration committee had no connection with Shomrei Mishmeres as a congregation, nor fond memories of the old neighborhood, it might be asked if they had any special

personal interest in the building beyond their appreciation of its importance as the earliest relic of Baltimore Jewry. The answer is in a remark quoted in the *Baltimore Sun*, attributed to society officials: "The building . . . is the one remaining physical link—other than cemeteries—with the earliest Baltimore Jews. Those Jews, ancestors of many of the most active members of the Jewish community today, were a major influence in Baltimore's commercial, cultural, and political history. This old synagogue . . . will not be merely renovated, but restored to its original simplicity and beauty."[39] The spokesmen of the society identified with the modern, progressive, socially conscious elements of the Jewish community, in implied rejection of the presumably archaic, self-absorbed, isolated outlook of the early immigrant past. It is not irrelevant that at least eight of the society's founders could trace their ancestry to German immigrants who had established their families among Baltimore's Jewish elite before the end of the nineteenth century.[40] Shomrei Mishmeres represented an Eastern European immigrant world that had no attraction to the society's founders and could not in their eyes claim a coequal place in Baltimore Jewish history. It could not, therefore, extend any strong claim when issues arose about how the old synagogue should be restored, and so the immediate concern became how best to restore the synagogue to its "original" appearance.

The tone was set by Wilbur Hunter, who stated in 1963 that "the interior still preserves the clean beauty of neo-classic style."[41] He wondered if it might not be easier and cheaper to pull down the thirty feet of the 1860 addition, and so restore the building to its dimensions of 1845. The society actually solicited a contractor's bid for this amputation in 1964,[42] but the project was thought too costly, and the building was allowed to retain its dimensions by default.

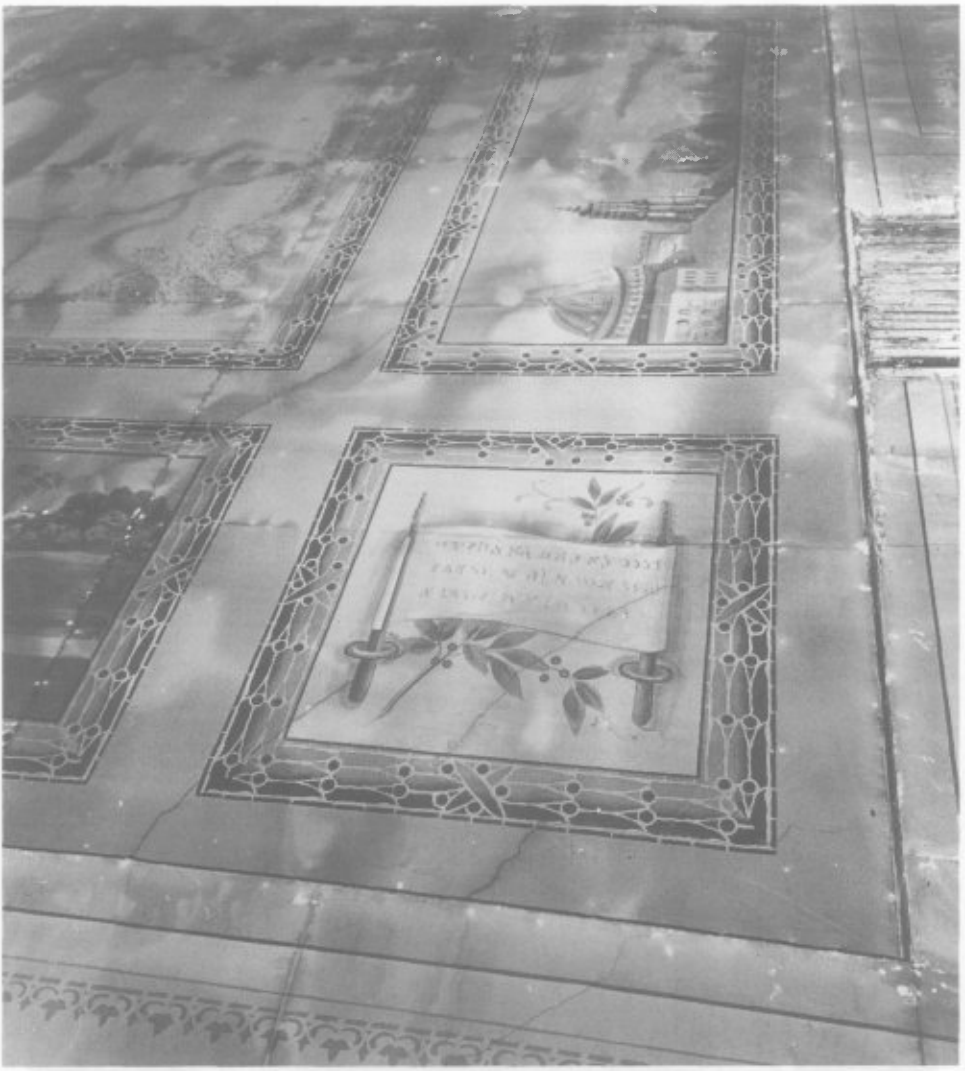
Nevertheless, an idealized Greek Revivalism, equated with "simplicity and beauty," seems to have dominated the minds of the restoration committee. Obviously, the notion of what was original did not encompass any decorative element in the synagogue after its sale by the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1889. A consensus settled on 1860 as the reference date for restoration, that being the earliest time at which the synagogue had assumed its current size.

Unfortunately, in most cases neither Wilbur Hunter, the unofficial historical advisor for the project, nor any of the society's own governors and volunteers undertook to determine closely the dates of the existing elements of the synagogue so that accurate extractions and substitutions could be made. The post-1905 age of some of the woodwork, mentioned above, was generally considered to be no later than 1860 in Hunter's report for the Historic American Buildings Survey.[43] The two hanging chandeliers in the sanctuary were not mentioned in the HABS report but were believed by the society to date from 1860[44] though they were of the wrong style (Gothic, not Greek Revival). In fact, the congregational minutes of 1860 refer to only one chandelier.[45] A Shomrei Mishmeres member has described how the two chandeliers present in the Lloyd Street Synagogue in 1963 were actually salvaged from the nearby Second Presbyterian Church (built in 1853) when that structure was demol-

The congregation built this Torah ark in 1860 as rapid growth called for expansion of the building. The Hebrew inscription "Know Before Whom You Stand" derives from the religious text Sayings of the Fathers. *(Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.)*

ished and were reinstalled in the synagogue in the 1920s,[46] not without some objection from the synagogue's members.

Various other additions were incorrectly assumed to have dated from 1860 or before.[47] The Torah ark then in the building, however, was recognized to be no earlier than 1905 and was torn out during the second phase of the synagogue's restoration in 1965. It was replaced with an earnest reproduction of



Stencil pattern decoration found beneath the renovated ceiling of the synagogue in 1960. Added in the Shomrei Mishmeres Hakodesh era, they were not saved during the 1960s restoration. (Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.)

the 1860 ark, based on a single surviving photograph of that vanished item, but the reproduction does not accurately reflect the dimensions of the original as deduced from internal evidence in the photograph itself.48 Moreover, to accommodate the reproduction ark and its new supporting platform, not only were the old ark and its flanking benches demolished, but so were several rows of original 1860 pews, identifiable not only from their style and location in the sanctuary but from the mid–nineteenth-century cut-metal nails holding them together.[49]

There is no record that consideration was given to the proper colors of the restored structure. It was assumed, presumably, that neo-classic simplicity

would be achieved by painting both walls and interior woodwork a "colonial" white, in keeping with the "dazzling white"[50] of the only authentically colonial synagogue in the United States, Touro in Newport, Rhode Island. The liberal use of brown tints and blue by the congregants of Shomrei Mishmeres was unacceptable.

When in the course of the restoration work the Lloyd Street Synagogue's ruined plywood ceiling was pulled down, there was revealed the series of painted scenes already mentioned. It was soon recognized that these colorful pictures, surrounded by stencil-pattern decoration, represented views of the Holy Land. Over the ark itself was a depiction of Jerusalem. What today would certainly be considered ethnographically significant American Jewish folk art was not much valued in this instance, though photographs of selected portions of it were taken, providing limited documentation. The comments of society president Louis Cahn are instructive: "As these murals evidently dated from a period after 1900, and were therefore not a part of the original synagogue, no attempt was made to preserve them . . . the new ceiling was painted clear white, as described in 1860 newspaper accounts."[51]

The ceiling was never intended to be painted clear white, of course. The newspaper notice of 1845 (not 1860) showed that the ceiling and walls were intended to be covered with frescoes. The ceiling was so painted in 1853. The congregation's minutes refer to frescoes as an intended element of the 1860 renovation,[52] and a newspaper article reporting the 1871 renovation mentions the liberal use of frescoeing and gilding.[53] Several other Baltimore synagogues of the mid- and late-nineteenth century are described in newspaper accounts as being distinctively frescoed,[54] and this was the normal nineteenth-century technique in Baltimore for completing a synagogue's interior decoration.

With the arrival of the Eastern European immigrants after 1881, a new type of decoration for synagogue interiors, presumably reflective of the more pictorial and intensely mural-decorated synagogues of Central and Eastern Europe, made its appearance in the city. The most striking feature of this new style involved the painting of the ceiling, at least, with scenes of sites in the Holy Land—the very kind of decoration that was placed on the Lloyd Street Synagogue ceiling by Shomrei Mishmeres. The few surviving photographs of these paintings show simple vignettes, the scenes separated by painted borders reminiscent of stained glass windows of the period. The ceiling of another Baltimore synagogue not far away, Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol, was given similar treatment about 1903.[55]

All-American Purity

The result of the presumption that the building's original state exemplified the purity of "colonial" white, and of the lack of better knowledge, was that the building's interior woodwork, walls, ceiling, and exterior woodwork were all painted white. The exterior brickwork, described in the 1845 account from

the *American* as having been painted, and the west facade of which remained painted through most of the building's history,[56] was sandblasted, though not the less visible north side of the building. The downstairs areas of the synagogue, including the ritual baths, had not been a special focus of restoration concern, though an old wooden floor was taken up to reveal a brick sub-floor, dating perhaps from 1845, and the walls, when repaired, were painted either light brown, as in the teaching rooms, or white (foyer, gallery space, and ritual baths). All the basement ceiling light fixtures were removed and replaced with incongruous stamped-metal "Victorian" chandeliers that held modern glass globes with frilly trimming, which at the time wre thought to convey a sense of the antique. Unfortunately, no photographs were taken of the basement before its restoration. Upstairs in the sanctuary the new ceiling was supplied with recessed lighting of contemporary design.

The refurbished synagogue was dedicated on November 8, 1964, and the fully restored structure, including the re-created ark, was opened on January 16, 1966. A letter from one Irene deLeon Love, who attended the 1966 opening, describes the synagogue as "simply beautiful and colonial. . . . Every Marylander should view this beautiful building."[57] Her remarks signify not only the effect but the intent of the restoration efforts to that point. The result of the restoration was to present a structure whose appearance emphasized only the earliest of the building's several periods of occupancy, reflecting the tastes and aspirations of the Reform-minded directors of the JHSM.

For twenty years only a modest amount of additional work was undertaken on the Lloyd Street Synagogue. Its interior was once repainted a yellowish white similar to the surface color applied by those responsible for the initial restoration. When the JHSM acquired and restored the nearby B'nai Israel Synagogue in 1983–87, a careful attempt was made to determine the original paint color and decorative scheme of that 1876 building, and its restored sanctuary was painted with a match of the sky-blue color originally used there. B'nai Israel's extensive floral and geometric fresco work was not in that case re-created for reasons of cost, but drawings of those decorations were made and placed in the society's archives. No attempt was made, however, to discover and record the whole range of paint colors used throughout that building's history, and the chance to do so was reduced when B'nai Israel's badly damaged ceiling was demolished and replaced, though portions of the surface under the balconies were left exposed to show patches of the original decoration.

In 1991, when the interior of the Lloyd Street Synagogue required painting, it was decided to determine the sanctuary's colors after the remodeling of 1871, and to repaint it accordingly.[58] A limited analysis of the paint color sequence was undertaken for that purpose, and some information about the color schemes of 1845, 1860, and 1905 was revealed.[59] Shortly afterward, during extensive repairs, a more complete examination was made of the paint colors on the building's exterior.[60] No effort was made to lay bare extensive earlier layers of plaster or to pick up comprehensible details of any period's fresco decoration.

The sanctuary was subsequently repainted in accordance with what was revealed about the 1871 colors, and the early twentieth-century elements (central *bimah*, gallery balusters, and railings) were painted in the 1871 colors as well.[61]

The study of the Lloyd Street Synagogue's exterior coloration was intended to be more inclusive than that of the interior but was without the means to date the whole sequence as closely. Two sets of samples were taken. One was from two window frames on the north, or hidden side, on opposite sides of the border of the two adjoining sections built in 1845 and 1860, so that at least the earliest colors could be securely dated. The window sashes themselves had been replaced in the early twentieth century. The other exterior set of samples was taken from the door frame of the northernmost door in the west facade. This door frame was, based on written documentation,[62] added as part of the renovations of 1860.

The First Analysis

Even with its limited scope the sampling probably represents the first broad sequential paint analysis ever undertaken in a historic American synagogue. The results are instructive, showing that the building's colors were radically different from the pure white the first restorers imagined. The 1860 and 1871 interior sequences show a wide range of colors that took advantage of the building's reveals and surfaces, using, as one would expect, a dado to further divide the sanctuary walls into zones of different decorative coloration. The 1871 color palette is especially exuberant, with a Prussian Blue distemper above the dado of glazed grey-mauve, with gold leaf on the column capitals and a strong pink on the cornice above the balcony. Even the hints of the 1845 colors, and the more completely discovered colors of 1860, show a range of warm and varied hues, nothing at all like the relentless white applied to the building's surfaces when it was reopened to the public in the 1960s.

Caution is required when generalizing from something as personal as the selection of decorative colors, but nothing about the synagogue's color schemes of 1845, 1860, and 1871 suggests that they were unlike what might have been found in any religious or civic building erected in Baltimore at those times. Nothing specifically Jewish is associated with the colors or the applied designs. The wholly Americanized architectural design of the Lloyd Street Synagogue, a clear statement of dignified historical revivalism, owes nothing, on the exterior, to specific Jewish traditions and everything to American expectations about the appearance of a dignified public structure. The colors and the building's overall design also suggest an already pronounced acculturation, or eagerly sought-after acculturation, to the general forms and visual expectations of American life on the part of the client congregation. There is nothing exotic or alien in the architecture or the decoration, although it must be remembered that the members of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, though many were foreign-born, emerged mainly from Western Euro-

pean countries whose Jewish populations were already highly acculturated to Western mores, and few would have had much contact with the more isolated and culturally distinctive Jewish populations of Eastern Europe.

The Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who flooded into Baltimore and elsewhere in the United States after 1881 brought rather different and less Westernized cultural sensibilities, evident from the Lloyd Street's interior decoration after 1905, when the building was occupied by Shomrei Mishmeres. The pictorial murals of Holy Land scenes represented a distinct departure from any previous kind of synagogue decoration in Baltimore. Even the limited color sampling from the 1905 redecoration shows dark brown graining on the dado, dark wood graining and stains on the woodwork, and what appears to be a green on the balcony wall, all communicating an almost gloomy and certainly dark atmosphere, far different from the lighter and jauntier Victorian one. Although no paint sampling was undertaken before the Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol synagogue was demolished, the contemporaneous post-1903 decoration of that building was similar in its extensive use of pictorial but non-figurative scenes, with further reliance on ocherous yellows and browns and bilious greens. The likelihood is that the newly-arrived Eastern European Jews decorated their American synagogues in a manner reminiscent of what they had only recently left behind and still remembered with some clarity.

Unfortunately, hardly anything is actually known about the interior decoration of provincial Eastern European synagogues, since most of them were destroyed during World War II, and only a small number of unusual wooden synagogues, which became famous because of their intricate and elaborate pictorial decorations and indigenous style of construction, were documented before they were lost. With the recent opening of the former Soviet Union to foreign scholarly activity, it is certain that researchers will discover hitherto unknown influences on the decoration of American synagogues by immigrant Eastern European congregations.

The study of American synagogue painted decoration, just beginning, will benefit generally from comparative studies and specifically from a more complete sequencing of the Lloyd Street Synagogue's colors in the sanctuary, as well as in the as yet unsampled basement with its spaces for teaching, cooking, administration, worship and ritual ablutions.

The results of sampling the exterior of the Lloyd Street Synagogue are, perhaps predictably, less suggestive than what was revealed about the interior, but are not without significance. Throughout the synagogue's history its facade was generally painted in quiet greys or whites, the only exception being a grayish red used mainly in 1860—presumably the color present in the Stiltz photograph of 1864, which shows darkly-painted woodwork. A halftone photograph from around 1905 may record the gray revealed in the color sequencing. A halftone photograph of 1910 and a sharp original black-and-white photograph of 1930 do not contradict the white and yellowish-white colors of appropriate locations somewhat later in the sequence. A heavy soot accumulation between

Eight of the nineteen founders of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland are present in this 1961 photograph of the society's board. Standing left to right are Louis L. Kaplan, Israel M. Goldman, Moses W. Rosenfeld, Morris Lieberman, and Louis F. Cahn. Seated left to right are Louis B. Kohn II, Isaac M. Fein, Mrs. Marie Rothschild, Hugo Dalsheimer, George Radcliffe, and Lester S. Levy. (Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.)

colors late in the sequence shows that the occupants were economizing on repaintings, and that the front facade was painted more often than the relatively hidden north side, and not always in the same color as the exterior woodwork of the rest of the building. Neither the St. John the Baptist nor the Shomrei Mishmeres congregations was ever very rich; their frugality is easily understood.

The Emotional Eye

To a degree the first restorers from the JHSM recapitulated the experience of their real or cultural ancestors in turning towards a distinctly American kind of vision in considering architectural envelopes for their Jewish identities in the United States. The original builders of the Lloyd Street Synagogue showed their respect for American models in building a synagogue in an acceptable version of Greek Revivalism, with only minor interior modifications to reflect Jewish ritual usages and requirements. The restorers sought another kind of American Revivalism—a sort of Colonial Revivalism—for their restoration model, with similar respect for their American homeland and its heroic history. To an extent they sought to parallel American cultural phylogeny with

a Jewish-American one, both starting, as they understood it, with a Colonial backdrop, complete with woodwork painted white. The fact that the first restorers of thirty years ago were understandably not familiar with scientific paint sampling processes or with specific decorative programs of the past was not enormously significant in determining the kind of restoration that followed. When they stood in the decayed Lloyd Street Synagogue, they saw the dark colors and general strangeness of Shomrei Mishmeres, though they saw also that its Torah ark, which they would shortly destroy, was painted white and blue. They saw with emotional, not analytical, eyes. What they viewed represented, at least partially, an alien manifestation of their own culture, a reminder of the humiliating backwardness of old Jewish Eastern Europe and the squalor of the immigrant ghetto, all richly deserving to be either forgotten or subordinated to the progressive achievements of modern American Judaism, whose roots could be traced, or should be traced, to the builders of the Lloyd Street Synagogue. The result was a willful and selective editing of architectural history.

Frugality fortunately prevented greater damage, and most of the building's interior appointments survived unharmed. It must also be emphasized, in fairness, that without those founders and restorers of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, the building would not have survived at all, and Maryland would have suffered the permanent loss of its most historic Jewish building.

That said, this is still a cautionary tale. All historic restoration is to some degree an exercise in stagecraft and slight-of-hand, even without costumed guides in synthetic fabrics speaking in a vocabulary and inflection impossible for any other time or place than the here and now. It is simply impossible to re-create in a historic structure precisely what would have been seen at any time farther from us than the quite recent past. Attempts to do so always run the risk of consigning some unappreciated artifact of physical history to an Orwellian memory hole from which there is no escape. An especially depressing example of the permanent results of this kind of error is Baltimore's famous USF *Constellation,* which may or may not contain a few eighteenth-century elements, but which has been restored in such an inconsistent fashion, with substantial authentic nineteenth-century elements oddly joined to modern elements that mimic eighteenth-century forms, that it is like some hapless time traveler caught half in and half out of his machine.

With the Lloyd Street Synagogue, we now see with perfect hindsight that more careful conservation of what was there when it was acquired by the JHSM would have best served the cause of public historical interpretation, with justice to all congregations that used the building and to all the tides of Jewish and community history that have washed through it.

NOTES

1. This refers only to the ages of standing structures, not to the foundation dates of congregations themselves. The two older synagogue buildings are the Touro Synagogue (1763) in Newport, Rhode Island, and Beth Elohim (1841) in Charleston, South Carolina. See Mark W. Gordon, "Rediscovering Jewish Infrastructure: The Legacy of U.S. 19th Century Synagogues," *American Jewish History* 75 (March 1986): 296–306. On the island of St. Thomas, a U.S. territory, stands the Sephardic Synagogue of Charlotte Amalie, built in 1833.
2. Adolf Guttmacher, *A History of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, 1830–1905* (Baltimore: The Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, 1905), 22–23.
3. Isaac Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971), 47–49.
4. "Consecration of the Synagogue in Baltimore," *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, Vol. III, No. 8 (November 1845): 362, JHSM.
5. *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 25, 1845, JHSM.
6. *Baltimore Sun*, July 7, 1853. This notice also mentions a new slate roof, laying of new Brussels carpeting, and the redecoration of the synagogue's Torah ark.
7. Histories of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, are numerous though not very searching. See Rose Greenberg, *The Chronicle of Baltimore Hebrew Congregation 1830–1975* (Baltimore: The Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, 1976); Guttmacher, *History*; Fein, *American Jewish Community*; Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Historical Review Publishing Company, 1910), 63–64, passim.
8. Fein, *American Jewish Community*, 54–58. A partisan though detailed account of Abraham Rice's career is in J. Harold Sharfman, *The First Rabbi* (Malibu, Calif.: Joseph Simon, 1988), passim.
9. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, September 15, 1860, JHSM.
10. Three photographs of the sanctuary only of the Lloyd Street Synagogue were taken in connection with a report prepared by Wilbur Hunter for the Historic American Buildings Survey. The photographs are filed as 7641 MD 4 – Balt. 117 (1–3).
11. Collection of Ross J. Kelbaugh.
12. Rachel Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), 40.
13. Fein, *American Jewish Community*, 55–57; Blum, *Jews of Baltimore*, 21; Greenberg, *Chronicle*, 17–18; Sharfman, *First Rabbi*, Chapter 10, 15–24 passim.
14. Fein, *American Jewish Community*, 116, 118; Blum, *Jews of Baltimore*, 21, 23-24. Both synagogue buildings are now owned and maintained as part of its museum complex by the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland. (hereafter JHSM)
15. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, August 26, 1871, JHSM.
16. Ibid. The firm was H. T. Gernhardt.
17. Plate is in Guttmacher, *History*, op. 33.
18. Fein, *American Jewish Community*, 177–178; Guttmacher, *History*, 45–47.
19. The Notitiae from 1891 to 1905 for the St. John the Baptist Lithuanian Catholic Church are on deposit in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. The church's pastor was Joseph Andrew Lietuvnikas (1865–1943). The number of parishioners was variously estimated as ranging from six hundred to over a thousand. The author is grateful to the Archdiocese for its cooperation in providing access to these records.
20. A letter of March 26, 1902, to Cardinal Gibbons from prominent members of the Lithuanian congregation, refers throughout to the church's great financial debt and requests permission to form a Board to oversee a financial reorganization.

21. Notitiae 1891–1909, 87, summarizes the Notitiae of various years for the St. John the Baptist Lithuanian Catholic Church. The 1904 entry mentions "new church bought." The national Catholic Dictionary lists the Catholic congregation in 1905 at its new address at Paca and Saratoga Streets in Baltimore.

22. Fein, *American Jewish Community*, 177–178. The congregation's formal name was Shomrei Mishmeres Hakodesh Anshe Wolin (The Guardians of the Holy Service of the People of Volhyn). Portions of its records survive at the JHSM, including financial and administrative documents and most of its minutes from 1909 to 1922.

23. The following letter was sent to the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation on August 16, 1905, by President I. Bodner and Treasurer M. Terlitzsky of the Shomrei Mishmeres Congregation: "We beg to advise you that we have purchased the Church at the Corner of Lloyd and Watson Sts. For the purpose of making a Hebrew Synagogue; And we are putting all necessary repairs on same. So we want to kindly ask you, as you promised to help us out, so we trust that you will give this your prompt attention." The Baltimore Hebrew Congregation responded on September 14 with a check for $100.00 (originals in archives of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation).

24. No human images are visible in those sections of the painted ceiling photographed before their destruction. A similar painted ceiling, also without any human images, was provided about 1903 for another Baltimore synagogue, Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol, and was documented before its destruction by the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland (accession 91.89). See also Bernard Fishman, "Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol," *Generations*, 8 (Summer 1991): 1–3. As an example of the ambivalence in which Baltimore's late nineteenth-century Orthodox Jewish community held the making of 'graven images,' in 1895 the rabbi of the B'nai Israel Congregation, which was buying the synagogue built in 1876 by the Chizuk Amuno Congregation just down the street from the Lloyd Street Synagogue, refused to allow his photograph made for a local newspaper on the grounds that it might violate the Second Commandment. See B. Fishman, "Solomon Nunes Carvalho: Photographer," in *Solomon Nunes Carvalho: Painter, Photographer, and Prophet in Nineteenth Century America* (Baltimore: Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1989), 25–26.

25. The contract was made on February 3, 1936, between Shomrei Mishmeres, represented by President Morris Flomm, and contractors Hyman Hurwitz, Harry Tapper and Isaac Kessler. The cost of the work was $385.00 (JHSM, Shomrei Mishmeres MS collection 29).

26. Three bills survive from Nathan Small, designer, to the congregation, dated March 13, March 27, and April 17, 1936, referring mainly to the gold leaf work ($32.50) and the decorating and the painting of the ark ($55.00). His whole charge to the congregation was $173.71 (JHSM, MS 29).

27. Earl Pruce, *Synagogues, Temples and Congregations of Maryland 1830–1990* (Baltimore: Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1993), 120.

28. Ibid. It was, however, still listed in *The Standard American-Jewish Directory* of 1960.

29. Louis F. Cahn, *The Jewish Historical Society of Maryland and the Restoration of the Lloyd Street Synagogue* (Baltimore: Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1981), 2–3.

30. Ibid.

31. The nineteen founders of the society and their primary affiliations were: Dr. Harry Bard, principal of Baltimore Junior College, a Reform institution; Hugo Dalsheimer, community leader and philanthropist, active personally with the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Reform); Dr. Isaac M. Fein, personally Orthodox though professor of history at Baltimore Hebrew College, an agency of the Associated Jewish Charities and Welfare Fund (AJCWF), a non-denominational but Reform-dominated social service federation; Louis J. Fox, president of the AJCWF, and active personally in the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Reform); Samuel Glasner, Rabbi, Board of Jewish Education, director of religious school education for Reform congregations; Israel Goldman, rabbi of Chizuk

Amuno Congregation (Conservative); Harry Greenstein, director of AJCWF; Isaac Hamburger II, community leader, active with AJCWF, and Temple Oheb Shalom (Reform); Mrs. Elsie Kairys, community leader, active with Hadassah and Congregation Shaarei Tfiloh (Orthodox); Dr. Louis L Kaplan, president of Baltimore Hebrew College, an institution affiliated with the AJCWF. Dr. Kaplan was personally affiliated with Beth Tfiloh Congregation (Orthodox) and later was rabbi of Congregation Beth Am (Independent); Mrs. Amalie S. Katz, community leader; active with Temple Oheb Shalom (Reform); Lester S. Levy, former AJCWF president, at different times a member of the Shearith Israel Congregation (Orthodox) and the Chizuk Amuno Congregation (Conservative); Morris Lieberman, rabbi of Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Reform); Joseph Meyerhoff, philanthropist and community leader, active with AJCWF, Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Reform), and Har Sinai (Reform); Samuel Rosenblatt, rabbi of Beth Tfiloh Congregation (Orthodox); Moses Rosenfeld, a lawyer, active with the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Reform); Mrs. Marie Rothschild, community leader, active with Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Reform); Leon Sachs, director of the Baltimore Jewish Council, the political arm of the AJCWF, and not affiliated with any synagogue; Dr. Alvin Thalheimer, community leader, active with AJCWF and Temple Oheb Shalom (Reform).

32. Cahn, *Jewish Historical Society*, 5n.

33. Minutes of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, February 6, 1961.

34. *Baltimore Sun*, June 17, 1968.

35. Ibid., January 17, 1966, "It Will Always Be 1846 At Lloyd Street Synagogue."

36. Ibid., November 7, 1964, "Moments of Another Time Restored on Lloyd St.," Recollections of Joseph Attman.

37. *Baltimore Sun, Sunday Sun Magazine*, November 8, 1964, 23.

38. Cahn, *Jewish Historical Society*, 8.

39. *Baltimore Sun*, November 25, 1962.

40. Dalsheimer, Fox, Hamburger, Katz (née Sonneborn), Levy, Rosenfeld, Rothschild (née Lowenstein), Thalheimer.

41. *Baltimore American*, October 20, 1963.

42. JHSM minutes, January 14, 1964; Cahn, *Jewish Historical Society*, 12–13.

43. Historic American Buildings Survey (hereinafter cited as HABS), Lloyd Street Synagogue, MD–190, Appendix No. 8, November 1959, 4, subscript 2. Hunter confuses the early twentieth-century baluster turnings present in the building with nineteenth-century ones, and mistakenly identifies the early twentieth-century *bimah* and its reading desk with one described as present in the building in a *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* article of September 15, 1860. In addition to being stylistically inappropriate for mid–nineteenth-century work, the balusters and rails were attached with mass-produced wire nails.

44. Cahn, *Jewish Historical Society*, 15.

45. *The Proceedings of the B.H.C* (Minutes of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, the earliest surviving such volume, with entries from October 21, 1851–December 2, 1866), January 28, 1860, and October 14, 1860. The prospective and then completed purchase of a single chandelier, to complement the newly enlarged synagogue and its renovations of that year, is specifically mentioned. The existing synagogue ceiling shows a single pierced ceiling grate with a suspension socket for only one chandelier (the socket is now empty and the two chandeliers now present do not hang from grates and are suspended some distance away).

46. Gedaliah Cohen, "A Witness to the Acquisition of the Lloyd St. Synagogue Chandeliers," *Generations*, I, 3. (December 1979): 10–13.

47. The mistaken early attribution of the interior balusters, railings, reading desk, and chandeliers

has already been alluded to. Also wrongly dated were the post-1864 round stained glass windows in the east and west walls (see Wilbur Hunter, HABS report, 7) and the matzoh oven in the basement, beneath the stairs (see Israel Tabak, "The Lloyd Street Synagogue of Baltimore: A National Shrine," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, LXI, 4 (June 1972): 344. The oven is from the early twentieth century, not the mid-nineteenth. It has been fitted awkwardly into its place, seemingly as an afterthought. The minutes of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation do not mention it, but instead refer to a matzoh machine (*Proceedings*, April 2, 1865). In addition, only the extremely observant Shomrei Mishmeres, and not the liberal Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, would have required matzoh *shmura,* the minutely careful preparation of which was surely the justification for putting the oven into basement in the first place, where the baking could be supervised by the representatives of the congregation itself. It may also be the case that the two *mikvaot* in the basement were thought of as being from the nineteenth century (see Cahn, *Jewish Historical Society*, 13) and not from the twentieth century, as the Art Deco tiles decorating one would clearly imply. Certainly they were presented to tourists for the twenty years after the synagogue's restoration as of nineteenth-century date. Many of these errors were perpetuated in the nomination form submitted to the U.S. Dept. of the Interior in 1977 to nominate (successfully) the building to the National Register of Historic Places. The nomination form explicitly assigns the existing chandeliers to 1860 and the matzoh oven to 1845 and does not suggest that any of the stained glass windows or interior woodwork or the ritual baths could be later than 1860.

48. Bernard Fishman, "The Lloyd Street Synagogue's Wandering Ark," *Generations*, 7 (Fall 1989): 17–21.

49. Some sections of these original pews were saved and could be reinstalled if the modern ark platform is ever dismantled.

50. As the interior of the Touro Synagogue was described by Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 18. The modern restoration of the Touro Synagogue preceded that of the Lloyd Street Synagogue by only a few years.

51. Cahn, *Jewish Historical Society*, 14.

52. *Proceedings of the B.H.C.*, April 3, 1859, October 14, 1860.

53. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, August 26, 1871.

54. Some examples are: Oheb Israel: *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 15, 1848; Chizuk Amuno (the later B'nai Israel building): *Baltimore Sun*, July 27, 1876, and *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, August 19, 1876; Shearith Israel: *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, July 5, 1879; Baltimore Hebrew Congregation: *Baltimore American*, September 26, 1891; Mikro Kodesh: *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, March 25, 1893; Oheb Shalom: *Baltimore American*, August 13, 1893.

55. In 1898 the Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol Congregation bought a Methodist Episcopal church built in 1846 at High and Stiles Streets and redecorated it for Jewish worship in 1903 (see *The Jewish Comment*, May 15, 1903). The remains of the synagogue's extensive ceiling paintings, which featured many decorative and pictorial subjects (but no human or animal figures), were photographed by JHSM in 1991. The building, stripped of its interior furnishings and used as a warehouse for over fifty years, was demolished in January 1993. Its architectural and decorative appearance closely paralleled the Lloyd Street Synagogue's.

56. Hunter, HABS report MD–190, 6, says of the Lloyd Street Synagogue's exterior in 1959: "The west and south walls are covered with a thin stucco, and painted with lines resembling brick joints." Notes of the building's exterior colors were made circa 1960 by Baltimore artist Jacob Glushakow, who used them to paint several later oil paintings of the synagogue. In these paintings only the building's west (front) facade is stuccoed, revealing a light tan color, while the south wall shows bare

red brick. It will be recalled that the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 25, 1845, described the building's whole exterior as of a "uniform stone tint."

57. *Baltimore News American*, April 24, 1966.

58. The project was directed by the author. The 1871 date was chosen because the synagogue's extensive renovations of that year gave it an appearance reasonably close to its modern-day aspect, its buried paint decoration from that year was so extensive that it would be relatively easy to discover by paint analysis, and the renovation of that year represented the last major redecoration effort by the congregation that originally built the structure.

59. The paint colors of the sanctuary of the Lloyd Street Synagogue were sampled and analyzed by Matthew Mosca in 1991 (the standard colors specified are from the Plochere or Munsell color systems). 1845 (original construction by the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation): *basic woodwork color*: yellowish tan, Plochere G40 (primer pinkish, red iron oxide, and white lead); *wall surface of women's gallery*: light gray. **1860** (construction of rear addition by the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation): *basic woodwork*: grayish stone color, Plochere G71; *column capitals*: gold leaf over yellow oil size; *pews*: grayish stone color slightly darker than that used on other woodwork in this period; *plaster surface, dado of south wall, east end*: gray, Plochere G52, with a clear glaze ; *plaster surface above dado, north wall, east end near window*: light gray, Plochere G79; *plaster surface, window reveal*: oil-based warm stone color, Plochere G23; *balcony woodwork, baseboard, and window railing*: white; *balcony wall, plaster surface*: yellowish tan; *balcony, plaster cornice, recessed cavetto and soffit*: light gray, Plochere G79. 1871 (renovation of sanctuary by Baltimore Hebrew Congregation to accommodate restructuring of east end of building): *basic woodwork*: grayish-white, Munsell 10P8.5/0.5; *column capitals*: renewed gold leaf over yellow oil size; *pews*: oak graining with top rail a natural wood finish with clear varnish; *plaster surface, dado of south wall, east end*: gray-mauve, Plochere G85, with clear glaze; *plaster surface above dado, north wall, east end near window*: Prussian Blue distemper, Plochere 684; *plaster surface, window reveal*: oil-based grayish stone color, Plochere G78; *balcony woodwork*: grayish white, Munsell 10P8.5/0.5, with baseboards of dark burnt brown; *balcony wall, plaster surface*: Prussian Blue distemper, Plochure 684; *balcony, plaster cornice*: warm stone color, Plochure 287; *balcony, plaster cornice, recessed molding, and soffit*: salmon pink color, Plochere 221. 1905 (renovation of sanctuary shortly after occupation by Shomrei Mishmeres Hakodesh): *pews*: dark oak graining; *plaster surface, dado of south wall, east end*: dark brown graining; *gallery woodwork, balusters and newels, and stair to gallery*: dark walnut stain and varnish; *balcony wall, plaster surface*: green.

60. The exterior restoration of 1992 was made possible by a grant from the Maryland Historical Trust. The exterior paint colors of the Lloyd Street Synagogue were sampled and analyzed by Matthew Mosca in 1992 using color standards of the Munsell system and identifying numbers with F prefixes.

Sequence of exterior finish colors from window frames on the north side:

1. Yellowish white, 5Y9/1.0, F-1; ca. 1845
   surface dirt accumulation
2. Grayish red, 7.5R4/2, F-2, brownstone color (Mars brown); ca. 1860
3. Yellowish gray, 2.5y8/2.5, F-3; ca. 1871?
4. Grayish white, N8.75, F-4
5. White, N9.0, F-5
   surface dirt accumulation
6. Yellowish gray, 2.5Y8/1, F-6
7. Gray, N5.0, F-7
8. White, N9.0, F-8
9. White, N9.0, F-9; ca. 1965

Sequence of exterior finish colors from the crosette of the northenmost front facade door frame on the

synagogues's front (west) facade (added in 1860). Numbers with F prefixes correspond to colors with same designations from window frames on the north side (see n. 59):

1. Grayish red, 7.5R4/2, F-2 — brownstone color (Mars brown); ca. 1860
   heavy surface dirt accumulation
2. Grayish red, 7.5R4/2, F2 — brownstone color (Mars brown)
3. Grayish red, 7.5R4/2, F2 — brownstone color (Mars brown)
   heavy surface dirt accumulation
4. Grayish yellowish pink, 10R7/.2.5
5. Yellowish gray, 2.5Y8/2, F-3; ca. 1871 (?)
6. Yellowish gray, 2.5Y8/2, F-3
   Surface dirt accumulation
7. Grayish white, N8.75
   Surface dirt accumulation
8. Gray, N5.0
9. Grayish red, 7.5R4/2 — Mars brown
   surface dirt accumulation
10. Grayish yellow, 25Y8/2.5
    surface dirt accumulation
11. Gray, N7.0
    surface dirt accumulation
12. Gray, N7.0
    heavy surface dirt accumulation
13. Gray, N5.0
    heavy surface dirt accumulation
14. White, N9.0
    heavy surface dirt accumulation
15. Yellowish white, 2.5Y9/1
    heavy surface dirt accumulation
16. Yellowish white, 5Y9/1
    surface dirt accumulation
17. Yellowish white, 10YR9/0.5
    surface dirt accumulation
18. Yellowish white, 5Y9/1
    surface dirt accumulation
19. Brownish pink, 7.5YR8/2 (this layer may be the remains of a graining finish)
20. Light gray, N7.0
21. Yellowish white, 5Y9/1
22. White, N9.0, F-9; ca. 1965

61. A stenciled border of Greek Revival design based on a pattern from *The Grammar of Ornament* was run around the sanctuary above the glazed dado, at the height of the window sills (Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1868), Plate XXII, Greek No. 8, pattern 29). The design was modified by omitting the upper border and substituting gold points on either side of the central leaf bracketing the palmettes, providing red for all the lines of the palmettes, and filling the space at the base of the palmettes, between the volutes, with a golden-yellow color. The fresco work was executed by Betsy Green of Baltimore and completed in early 1992. The intent was to re-create the interior colors as accurately as possible, and to provide a design that was at least in keeping with the style of the period, through acknowledging that the actual stenciled or frescoed designs had not yet been discovered. The repainting of the sanctuary itself was made possible by a grant

from the Associated Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore and was executed by Charles F. Ballengee, Inc.

62. The article in the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser,* September 25, 1845, states that the front portico of the synagogue had one large entrance doorway. Three are present in the 1864 Stiltz photograph. A reference in the minutes of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation for January 7, 1861 (*Proceedings of B.H.C.,* 204), mentions that the congregation's building committee had been directed to have new doors opened on each side of the aisle of the old part of the synagogue.

Between 1800 and the end of the Civil War the marketing of oysters from St. Mary's County grew from a simple alternative to farming to a far-flung enterprise. By 1870 oysters left the county by steamboat for Baltimore and Washington, D.C., where a network of agents then distributed the delicacies to cities and towns in Kentucky, Tennessee, and western Virginia. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Merrick Collection, MSA SC 1477-5131.)

Rakes, Nippers, and Tongs: Oystermen in Antebellum St. Mary's County

BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

Oyster consumption in Maryland's St. Mary's County is probably as old as human habitation in the lands between the Potomac and the Patuxent Rivers. Archeological evidence shows Indians consumed oysters as early as 5,500 B.C. Hospitable Indians treated the first English settlers to "oisters" shortly after they landed. While oystering equipment does not appear in probate inventories in Maryland until the 1730s, settlers caught and traded oysters from the earliest years. Even as late as 1850, however, the census showed not a single individual who listed his *occupation* as oysterman. By the time the census of 1860 was taken there were seventy oystermen active in the county; a part-time occupation had become for some a principal calling.[1]

St. Mary's residents in the early nineteenth century were clearly aware of the advantages of the rich waters surrounding the county. Proposing the sale of the glebe land of William and Mary Parish in 1807, William Hebb wrote that it was "in a situation abounding in every advantage emanating from the waters as oysters fish etc."[2] An advertisement that offered Mulberry Fields for sale in 1814 stressed the year-round bounty, the "winter abundance of the finest oysters and wild fowl, in summer the greatest variety of sea fish and crabs."[3] Richard B. Mason's Oakland estate at the head of St. George's River produced "oysters and fish of a superior quality and wild fowl, all in abundance immediately before the door."[4]

This was not simply early advertising hyperbole. Private letters show an appreciation of the "luxuries of the water" as well. Brother Joseph Mobberly wrote to his superior in 1813: "St. Inigoes farm is now in a flourishing state. It always affords a constant and copious supply of fresh fish and oysters throughout the year and attended with no expense."[5] The Reverend Joseph Jackson, the rector of William and Mary Parish, wrote in 1812 that "this county indeed has been inferior to no one in the state, and in point of local advantage is at this day exceeded by few if any. . . . fresh oysters we have in abundance. . . . You can hardly conceive the advantage of these situations on the Potomac as also the Patuxent."[6]

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Table 1
Inventories with Oystering Equipment

	Total*	Number with oystering equipment	Proportion
1790–99	102	8	7.8
1800–09	247	19	7.7
1810–19	212	36	17.0
1820–29	240	48	20.0
1830–39	222	42	18.9
1840–49	184	41	22.3
1850–59	201	46	22.9
1860–65	87	20	23.0

*Only inventories of men are considered here, as the number of widows' inventories with oysering equipment was very small.

Source: St. Mary's County Inventories, 17 vols., 1795–1865, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

Probate inventories that survive from as far back as 1796 list oystering and fishing equipment. As Table 1 shows, the number and proportion of inventories with oystering equipment increased between 1796 and 1865. The majority of those individuals with oystering equipment in their inventories engaged in agriculture as an occupation. They were tenants, farmers, and planters. Over the course of nearly seventy-five years, only four inventories indicate that the deceased may have been principally engaged in oystering.[7]

Persons in occupations other than farming, some closely related to the water, also owned oystering equipment (Table 2). Some residents stand out in the records as at least part-time oystermen. Ignatius Guy, who rented a house and lot from storekeeper John B. Perry in 1842, paid part of his rent in oysters and by making oyster rakes and cutting cordwood. In 1845, Hanson Wheeler paid his store bill in oysters and cordwood. Captain John Bullock, who listed his occupation as fisherman in 1850 and fisherman and carpenter in 1860, paid for the rent of his house and land on Green Creek from 1847 to 1849 in fish and oysters. Hanson Barnes, a free black laborer and neighbor of Bullock, paid part of an 1847 bill owed to Newtown Manor in oysters. Captain Robert Harden, owner and master of the schooner *Martha Washington*, provided his landlord with six hundred bushels of oysters.[8]

Who actually was doing the oystering? In more than half (58 percent) of the inventories surveyed the deceased owned male slaves over the age of fourteen. In all probability slaves made up a sizable portion of the county's antebellum oystermen. The earliest evidence of slaves oystering is in the accounts of St. Inigoes Manor for the years 1811–1814. For example, slave William Ditter was paid fifty-eight cents for three bushels of oysters. In the 1820s Brother Joseph

Mobberly noted that slaves oystered on Sundays and holidays and sold their catches to passing ships. Peter Gough reported buying oysters from "one of our black men when I was too busy in securing my crop of tobacco to have any caught."[9] The 1840 inventory of wealthy planter Cornelius Manning lists a "canoe called Davy's punt $10," and the slave Davy "about 43."[10] The same year Bishop William Whittingham wrote to his wife that the Reverend Richard H. B. Mitchell of Portobello on the St. Mary's River would be sending them "a barrel of St. Mary's oysters (the best in Maryland) for your especial eating."[11] Accounts for Newtown Manor in 1846 record purchases of oysters from "Goddard's Black Boy" and "Mr. Thompson's Bill."[12]

In some cases the listed oystering equipment may have been used by other members of the family, for it is difficult to imagine that the two physicians and two tavernkeepers who lacked slaves to do their oystering found time to do so themselves. On the other hand, it is not at all difficult to imagine pilots, mariners, and carpenters owning the means to procure a tasty and free meal.

Table 3 shows the type of oystering equipment found in the estate inventories. State law from 1820 forbade any use of dredges, so oystering was limited to tonging and raking. What stands out immediately in a study of the inventories is a number of situations where oyster rakes, nippers, or even tongs appear but no boats are listed. So abundant were local oysters that they could be plucked near the shore. Even in 1884, after almost twenty years of intense exploitation, oyster densities per square yard were 226 in the St. Mary's River, 686 in the Potomac from Piney Point to Blakistone's Island, 513 from Cornfield Point to Kitt's Point, 705 around St. George's Island, and 872 off Broome's Island in the Patuxent.[13]

Vessels of Many Forms

The vessel most frequently mentioned in conjunction with oystering equipment in the inventories is a canoe, with or without sails. This was the well known multi-log dugout canoe that has been extensively studied. There were 275 canoes in use in 1865, and such wooden vessels are known to have lasted fifty years or more. A report on the oyster industry in 1881 noted that tongers used canoes that ranged from fifteen to thirty feet. A slightly later report described canoes as built of pitch pine, the smaller ones having a single mast and sail, the larger two masts and sails. One of the latter, the *Martha Washington,* built in 1827, was eleven tons, 39 feet long, 13 feet wide, and drew 4.8 feet. She was registered in 1865 in Llewellinsburg as a schooner. The smallest of the log canoes, called a punt, was described in 1736 as "a very small and dangerous Sort of Canoa, liable to be overturn'd by the least Motion of the Sitters in it. The Negroes manage them very dextrously, with a Paddle."[14] These small vessels were used by oystermen in shallow waters well into the twentieth century.[15]

Also mentioned in conjunction with oystering and seine fishing are bateaux, described in 1911 as sharpie-rigged, forty-five-foot-long vessels with raking

Table 2
Occupations of Men with Oystering Equipment in Their Inventories

	to 1799	1800–1809	1810–1819	1820–1829	1830–1839	1840–1849	1850–1859	1860–1865
Tenants	1	6	12	12	10	4	10	3
with slaves	1	3	6	4	5	4	1	0
Farmer	4	8	11	10	12	8	15	6
with slaves	3	5	4	6	8	5	9	1
Planters	2	2	4	8	4	4	7	4
Craftsmen*	0	0	0	7	6	5	6	2
with slaves				5	1	3	2	1
Mariners*	0	1	4	4	2	6	2	5
with slaves		0	3	3	1	4	0	3
Merchant	0	0	2	3	1	4	2	1
with slaves			2	3	1	4	1	1
Professionals*	0	1	1	2	3	0	1	0
with slaves		1	0	1	2		1	
Mill owners	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	0
with slaves		1		1	2	1	0	
Other*	1	0	1	1	1	3	2	1
with slaves	0		0	0	0	1	0	0

A tenant has no land, a farmer has land, and a planter has land and 20 or more slaves and/or has property in the top 10 percent of taxables.

*Craftsmen include 16 carpenters (8 without slaves), 5 ship's carpenters (3 without slaves), 2 bricklayers (1 without slaves), a wheelwright and a blacksmith (both without slaves).

Mariners included 13 captains (7 without slaves), 10 pilots (2 without slaves), and a sailor (without slaves).

Professionals included 6 physicians (2 without slaves), a surveyor and a clergyman, both with slaves.

Others were 2 tavernkeepers, a wood cutter, a collector, and 6 individuals who were not householders and with no known occupation.

Source: *St. Mary's County Inventories,* 17 vols., 1795–1865, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

masts, "fast, handy, able and cheap to build."[16] Robert H. Wathan, a farmer living on Newtown Neck, had a green York River skiff, rigged for sailing with a fore, main, and jib, that drew only nine inches. Among the vessels known to be engaged in oystering were the schooners *Coral, Elizabeth Ann, Four Sisters, Friendship, General Washington, Laurel, Samuel John, Sarah Ann, Three Brothers,* and *White Pidgeon,* and the sloops *Blossom, Onward,* and *Teaser.* Although all these vessels were owned or commanded by oystermen as opposed to cap-

tains of oyster vessels, they may have been engaged in trade rather than tonging. The eight-ton sloop *Teaser,* however, had a permit for "oystering, gunning, and running market stuff," as did the longboat *Rising Sun.* Planter and legislator John F. Dent apparently admired *Teaser,* for he requested his wife to "get Mr. Husemann to make one [a boat] like his little oyster boat."[17]

As there was no set season for oystering prior to 1865, men went off when the spirit moved them, occasionally to the dismay of their employers. Samuel Leach, overseer at St. Inigoes Manor in 1818, "went to catch oysters, by which much corn was left in the field."[18] With oysters so plentiful and oyster nippers, rakes, and tongs inexpensive, this was likely not an isolated case.[19]

Early oystermen, then, were tenants and farmers who lived near the water and oystered for themselves and their neighbors. An early work on the oyster industry claims that local consumption of oysters was about 200,000 bushels per season, noting a county editor who received 100 to 125 bushels per season for family consumption in lieu of subscription money.[20]

When and how did a local market for oysters develop? As early as 1806 the Jesuits at St. Inigoes purchased local oysters. Newtown, which was a Jesuit plantation on Bretton Bay, recorded sales of oysters from 1811 to 1815—all in small amounts: eighteen bushels in 1811, 117 in 1812, and fifty-five in 1815. In all probability Newtown tenants tonged and sold these oysters. Oysters were clearly available at local stores by the 1820s. Brother Joseph Mobberly quoted the price for Patuxent oysters in 1826 at six cents per bushel. Not until the 1840s, however, do we find evidence of a growing market, locally and in Baltimore as well. Although few store records exist for St. Mary's County, the ledger of John B. Perry of Holly Hill in the Third District shows he accepted oysters as well as other commodities as payment for store bills. By the early 1850s there was a store selling groceries at Mount Olive in the Second District, and Loker, Abell & Co. of Leonardtown advertised groceries as well as dry goods.[21]

There was also a growing local market in hotels and resorts though evidence is scanty before the decade of the 1850s, when James H. Norris opened a new restaurant that featured "oysters, Fresh Fish, Wild Duck, Terrapins, etc."[22] J. W. J. Moore's Washington Hotel in Leonardtown advertised "a table always supplied with whatever the market may afford."[23] Hotels and local taverns may have helped stimulate a local market, and the appearance of summer resorts along the Potomac created a seasonal demand for seafood. There were several resorts on the river by the 1850s: Potomac Pavilion, located at Piney Point, Moore's Landing (later Marshall's, then Blakistone's) Pavilion opposite Blakistone's Island, and the most famous of all, the hotel at Point Lookout. The Potomac Pavilion dates to the mid-1830s, when John Gales & Co. purchased Suiters Fancy. Blakistone's Pavilion opened in 1852 at a location frequented by Baltimore and Wasington steamboats. When advertised for sale in 1858, the site was extolled for its excellent oyster coves as well as the good fishing and gunning. When Point Lookout opened in the late 1850s, it offered cot-

Table 3
Oystering Equipment

Rakes alone	4	5	11	9	9	5	12	2
Rakes + canoe	1	3	4	12	7	5	7	1
Rakes + sail canoe			3	1		3	2	
Rakes + bateaux			1	5	4	2	1	2
Rakes + boat					1	1	1 (sail)	1
Rakes + punt						1		
Rakes + fishing boat		2	3	10	9	10	5	5
Tongs alone	2	1	3	2	1	2	3	1
Tongs + canoe	1	4		3	3	4	3	1
Tongs + punt		1	1		2	1		
Tongs + bateaux					1	1		
Tongs + scow							2	
Tongs + fishing boat*		2	1	5	2	5	4	1
Paws alone			3		1		2	
Paws + canoe		2	3		1	1		
Paws + bateaux					1			
Nippers							2	
Jaws								1

*When oystering and fishing equipment were found in the same inventory it was impossible to tell what type of boat was being used for oystering. The following vessels appear in inventories with oystering equipment only:

1796	canoe, boat	1828	canoe with sails and sweeps
1803	scow	1835	skiff
1804	punt	1840	canoe called Davy's punt
1805	canoe with oars and paddles	1843	keel canoe, long canoe
1806	boat with sails	1853	sailboat, flat canoe
1810	bateaux	1857	canoe and lock
1811	canoe with sails	1860	fashion canoe
1812	canoe with sails and oars		lapside canoe
1813	canoe with sails, 2 oars, and 2 paddles		kit canoe
1823	bateaux with sails and oars		long-nose canoe

While tongs and rakes appear in inventories from 1796, the following chart shows the dates when other equipment first appears:

1803	paws	1843	tongs and teeth bars
1817	raked paws	1846	tongs and shell rakes
1830	rakes and paws	1852	rakes and nippers
1830	shell rakes	1855	paws and rake handles
1841	tongs and rakes	1856	paws and nippers
1842	tongs and paws	1863	jaws

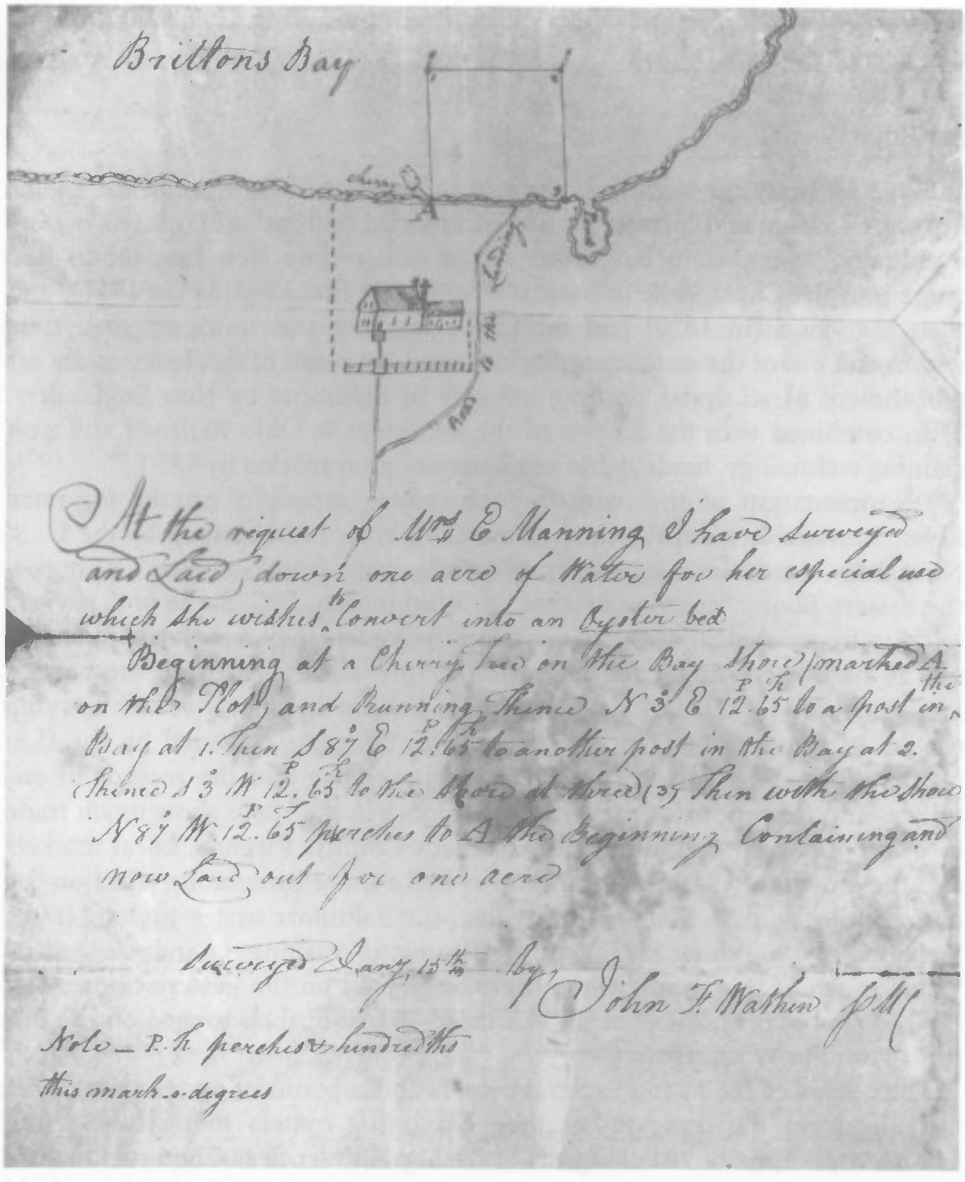
tages as well as a large hotel with a dining room promising a "gormand supply of oysters, crabs, etc."[24]

A Wider World

Some St. Mary's oysters were shipped in barrels to Baltimore in the 1840s, but were consigned to private parties. But market outlets for St. Mary's oysters eventually developed in Baltimore. At an earlier time New Englanders had come into the Chesapeake to harvest oysters, but first Virginia (in 1811), and then Maryland (in 1820) had forbidden catching and transport of oysters within and out of the state except by citizens. One result of this ban was the establishment of an oyster canning industry in Baltimore by New Englanders. This, combined with the success of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and new canning technology, made Baltimore a major oyster market by 1850.[25]

Documentation of the marketing of oysters, especially on the Potomac River, is available from the time of the Civil War. Passes issued by the U. S. Navy show a considerable number of vessels, many from Somerset County on the Eastern Shore, "running oysters," to Washington, D.C. Some of these vessels also frequented St. Mary's County, so the oysters they were "running" may not all have been caught on the Eastern Shore. Clearances from the port of Llewellinsburg in St. Mary's County in 1864 show three local vessels carrying oysters to Washington. On the other hand, both passes issued by the U.S. Navy's blockading squadron in the Chesapeake Bay and the records of entrances and clearances for the port of Baltimore in the 1860s show much trade in oysters between Baltimore and Accomack County, Virginia. Local markets and the growth of Washington may have had a more stimulating effect on the oyster industry in St. Mary's County than the Baltimore oyster-packing trade. Statistics for 1865 show 187,500 bushels going to Washington and Alexandria. While much of this supply would have originated on the Eastern Shore, certainly a sizable proportion of the estimated 75,000 bushels tonged on the Potomac went to Washington.[26]

The census of 1860 shows several owners and captains of oyster vessels who were likely in the trade rather than harvesting oysters themselves. James Moore, a pilot, had lived along the St. George's River near Cherryfields since the 1830s, and may have owned the schooner *Telegraph.* In his household were his son Richard and John Merrit Cole, both oystermen. Cole was also a pilot. Walter Chesser had come to St. George's Island about 1853 from Queen Anne's County with his father Ephriam. In his household his three sons and William Carroll were oystermen. As all of his neighbors were oystermen, it is likely that Chesser engaged in the oyster trade, possibly with Washington, D.C., although he sold his schooner *Elizabeth Ann* in 1859. Charles C. Spalding of Leonardtown was a merchant in 1850, but after he purchased the schooner *Coral* in 1854, and, later, an interest in the larger schooner *Advance,* he entered briefly into the oyster trade. His household included four oystermen,



Oyster bed plat, ca. 1830. As oystering became commercially profitable, Maryland law allowed private citizens to protect their interests by patenting one acre of water for an oyster bed adjacent to their land. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Special Collections [Manning Papers] MSA SC 807.)

two of whom were free blacks. Andrew Jackson Cheseldine, captain and owner of several vessels, carried oysters to Washington in the sloop *Sea Lark* in 1863 and the *Anna Low* in 1864. Captain Robert H. Harden lived close enough to Blakistone's (St. Clement's) Island to have transported the catch of two of his neighbors who oystered off the island. Thomas Lloyd commanded Edmund

Plowden's sailing scow *Enterprise,* which was engaged in the Potomac trade in 1860. In 1859 he had opened an oyster house at Plowden's Wharf. Prosperous farmer Zachariah Goldsmith owned part of the sloop *Teaser* that oystered and traded on the Potomac in 1861 and 1862.[27]

Private Rights, Local Interests

We have seen that the State of Maryland introduced regulation of oystering in 1820 with the elimination of dredging. By 1830 the growing importance of oystering led to additional regulatory legislation, this time to protect local interests. Private citizens were allowed to patent an acre for an oyster bed but only if they were county citizens and owners of property adjacent to the shore. Owners of land traversed by creeks smaller than a hundred yards at the mouth had the exclusive right to oysters in those creeks. Two years later only county residents were allowed to take oysters in county waters—originally defined as three hundred yards from shore but extended in 1837 to five hundred yards. St. Mary's County had fifty-four square miles of county waters, with twelve square miles of actual oyster reefs in the Patuxent and thirty-seven square miles of oyster grounds in the Potomac. These rich waters were bound to attract outsiders. The Reverend Francis H. L. Laird reported in 1834 the rumor "that seven Eastern-Shore men died on yesterday when taking oysters in the Patuxent at Benedict. Poor fellows! snatched away when they were committing theft! It is farther stated that their survivors instantly withdrew! This is a Western Shoreman fabrication, to whom it would be ill, if retributive justice were dispensed to them, as they measure it out to others. This report does not state what occurred, but what some persons here *wish had* occurred. Local prejudices run high."[28]

The need to protect oysters from outsiders may have been the reason for the "oyster house" that first appears in the record in 1846. It was situated at the mouth of the Patuxent between Hog Point and Pearson Creek. Fines for tonging in the wrong areas increased from $50 to $200 in 1849. These measures successfully protected local citizens and created a strong incentive for those who wished to oyster in St. Mary's County waters to move there.[29]

Initially only a few farmers took advantage of the law allowing them to patent oyster beds. Evidently only Zachariah Goldsmith actually used such patented beds to cultivate oysters. Landowners did, however, recognize the value of oyster coves that were part of or adjacent to their property. In 1854, Joseph Cecil's heirs advertised his farm near Mill Stone Landing on the Patuxent as adjacent to "two large oyster creeks, one abundantly filled with oysters of the finest quality."[30] The same year Smithwood in the First District was offered with "two fine oyster coves of considerable size, one of which belongs entirely to the estate."[31] Likewise, Blue Stone on St. Inigoes Creek "has on it one of the finest oyster coves in the county."[32] The *St. Mary's Beacon* contains many advertisements for farms in the decade of the 1850s; all that were near water em-

phasized the "luxuries of the water." When the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) offered parts of Newtown Manor for sale, they pointed out that "the property is immediately opposite to the Heron Island oster [*sic*] bars the largest oyster bars or banks in the Potomac River from which a very large revenue could be determined."[33]

Owners of these oyster lands had constant problems with trespassers. William W. Dix warned owners of slaves, parents and guardians of children, captains of vessels, and free blacks that no one could take oysters out of Piney Point Creek. But warnings did not stop the illegal taking of oysters. Benjamin Tippett reported that "up to the year 1859 oysters had constantly become more and more scarce in the creeks and shoals of the tidewater counties on the western shore of Maryland and this scarcity had become a source of anxiety to the adjoining landowners and citizens."[34] Since legislation had proven futile, "at last it was suggested to take up the lands under tidewater where the oysters grew as vacant uplands were taken up, under warrant from the land office."[35] Tippett reported that between October 1859 and March 1860 he surveyed Herring, Blake, Point Lookout, Tanners, Piney Neck, Deep, St. Jerome's, Carthagenia, Smith's, and St. Inigoes Creeks, as well as both shores of the St. Mary's River and the north shore of the St. George's River. This amounted to over 1,350 underwater acres in some of the county's most productive oyster growing areas.[36] Then, in May, Tippett began the survey of Heron Island for Richard H. Miles. The island bar, one of southern Maryland's most productive, covered some 368 acres. Miles, a merchant, had moved to Baltimore in 1856. As a state senator, he procured an amendment to the law allowing noncontiguous landowners to patent underwater land. With his son Oscar and John D. Long, George H. Morgan, Luke B. Hutchins and Uriah Tippett, he "applied for and obtained warrants for 660,000 acres of oyster lands in the waters of both shores of Maryland."[37] The *St. Mary's Beacon* of May 24, 1860, reported the scheme to survey and patent 200,000 underwater acres surrounding St. Mary's County. The newspaper called for an immediate protest. In its next issue it reported that people would resist the survey by force, and were in fact pulling surveyor's posts from the water. A letter from the patentees in the same issue claimed the right to patent land in the public domain. They did not intend to enter into creeks and shores but to patent only bars and beds in the rivers to protect county beds from outsiders. They ultimately withdrew their applications because of public hostility, but the problem did not end there. The *Beacon* later reported that the *New York Herald* had published an advertisement for the State of Maryland that offered oyster banks, bars, and beds on the Chesapeake for sale. In July 1860 citizens of the First District called a convention of tidewater counties to meet in August at Point Lookout to discuss underwater lands. Delegates were appointed and the convention met on August 10, but only St. Mary's and Prince George's Counties were represented. Delegates nevertheless vowed to resist any private efforts to appropriate un-

The popularity of Maryland oysters eventually caught the attention of Harper's Weekly, *which carried this engraving of oyster shucking in 1872.*

derwater lands. Before further action could be taken the Civil War intervened.[38]

St. George's Island

We cannot know the identity of the first full-time oysterman in St. Mary's County, but it is clear that the settlement of oystermen on St. George's Island, starting in 1853, marks the transition of oystering from a sideline for farmers to a vocation. The Jesuits owned St. George's Island until 1853. It was heavily timbered, and was the site of a marginally successful sawmill operation from 1845 to 1853. The Jesuits wished to sell the island because "the land is poor and inconvenient of access, none but poor people would reside on it."[39] In 1850, when they offered the island for sale, oysters were the primary selling point:

> The advantages this property possesses for the oyster trade is equal if not superior to any in the union. The creek alone is thought by persons of judgement and experience, to be worth more than the whole island. You are no doubt aware that the good creek-oysters, in our large cities bring a dollar per bushel. Thousands upon thousands of

Table 4
Oystermen of 1860 in St. Mary's County

	District							
	I	II	IISGI	III	IV	VI	Totals	
1860 Total	16	7	17	16	8	6	70	
Head of household	3	4	8	5	4	2	26	(37%)
Households with 1 + oystermen	6	1	5	3	1	1	17	
Illiterate	4	2	1	5	1	3	16	(23%)
Free black	1	2	0	4	1	0	8	(11%)
Oysterman & farmer	4	2	0	3	2	0	11	(15%)
Age range	12–50	14–55	12–60	18–56	18–32	14–60		
Under 30	11	2	12	7	6	4	42	(60%)
Average age under 30	17	18	19	20	22	19		
Occupation in 1850:								
tenant	3	2		4	2			
sailor	1	2			1			
other				carpenter			cooper	
Location in 1850:								
St. Mary's	15	6	0	9	7	0	37	(53%)
elsewhere	1	1	17	6	0	6		
Fathers:								
farmer	2	1		1	3	1	8	(11%)
carpenter	7						7	(10%)
dead	2	1		1	3			
sailor		1						
oysterman	1		8	2		5	16	(23%)
Property	2	4	0	0	3	2		
average census	1	4			3	2	$160	
average tax	1	1					$295	
Own boat			1	2	2			
Ocupation 1870								
oysterman	1	1	5	2	0	1	10	(14%)
farming	6	1	0	2	5	1	15	(21%)
sailor		2	3				5	
fisherman				1			1	
dead	1		2	1		1	5	

> bushels of oysters can be taken in the surrounding waters; by keeping a store on the island any quantity might be bought in the summer months, for seeding the creek, at six to eight cents per bushel. . . . More is to be made by the oyster business than by farming.[40]

Charles C. Lancaster, the society's agent, noted that most local residents ignored the "mine of wealth at their doors, they refuse to work it themselves,"[41] and did not allow out-of-staters with energy and ability to work the beds. He

During the frigid winter of 1876–1877, the Maryland oyster fleet became icebound on the Severn River in Annapolis. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 985-277.)

pointed out also that a purchaser from another state would be entitled to the oysters which were now forbidden to them under state law, and could have any number of vessels registered in Maryland. A printed flyer continued the point: "A creek running into and belonging to the island is justly celebrated for its very superior oysters which can be distinguished from all others by their peculiar qualities and have been preferred to the York oyster by competent judges." Further, the island "offer[s] more certain wealth than the mines of California" without the hardships or dangers.[42]

The partners in the sawmill operation, John H. Robrecht and Ennals Rozell, contracted to purchase the island and began selling it to oystermen. Robrecht, a native of Prussia, had been a merchant in Easton; Rozell came from Virginia. They moved to the island and took over the sawmill operation in 1851. Rozell retained 474 acres, Robrecht, 150 acres, and they sold the rest in lots of seven to 150 acres. Most of the purchasers were oystermen from the Eastern Shore of Maryland or from Virginia.[43]

The island was resold between 1853 and 1860 to the heirs of sailor Ephriam Chesser of Bodkin Island in Queen Anne's County, namely his son Walter Chesser, who captained the oyster vessel *Elizabeth Ann;* Edward P. Henderson, a pilot who married Walter's daughter Adeline; Thomas B. Adams, a farmer from Virginia; Zopher Smith of Washington, D.C.; George Poe, a sailor from Harford County who traded between St. Mary's and Accomack County, Virginia, in the mid-1860s; John W. Shiles, a Delaware carpenter and neighbor of Poe; Gabriel T. Thomas, a sailor turned oysterman from Dorchester County and his son Solomon, also an oysterman; and George Trice, a waterman. In 1860 fourteen families lived on the island, with a total of eighty-eight people,

including two slaves. Only four men, Thomas Adams, William Adams, Ennals Rozell, and John H. Robrecht were farmers. Adeline Henderson was a widow. All the rest—Walter Chesser, Richard Ball, Henry Gibson, Ephriam Chesser, Thomas Crowder, George Messeck, Gabriel and Solomon Thomas, and Samuel Trader—were engaged in oystering. In all, the census of 1860 (Table 4) showed seventeen individuals engaged in oystering, none of whom had been born in St. Mary's. They founded a community of pilots and oystermen whose descendants live there today.[44]

The oystermen of St. George's Island were strikingly different from the county's other oystermen who, as Table 4 shows, came largely from St. Mary's County. The latter closely matched the picture drawn by Ernest Ingersol in 1887: ". . . in some cases farmers and others, holding prominent social positions, may be found oystering during the winter months, when their legitimate business does not require close attention."[45] These farmers and sons of farmers clearly saw oystering as a sideline. Men such as Matthew Wheatly, whose primary occupation had been farming, oystered part-time from the 1830s. The attraction of oystering for tenant farmers was especially strong, for the prices of wheat and tobacco, the county's two main staple crops, were depressed in the 1850s.

Newtown Manor was described as "immediately accessible and the nearest land to the Heron Island oyster bars, the largest oyster banks in the Potomac River, from which a very large revenue could be derived. Our tenants frequently made more from these oyster bars than by farming, and it was with difficulty we could keep them from neglecting the farming business during the oyster season."[46] Several Newtown tenants were oystermen in 1860. In fisherman John Bullock's household, for example, were his son James and Lewis Devon, later a schooner captain. Francis Thompson lived with Newtown agent Enoch Neale. Tenant farmer Henry B. Cawood and his son James, and Alfred Bagly, who was also a carpenter listed oystering as their principal occupation.[47]

Other oystermen were retired or partially retired mariners like Ignatius Moore. John Merrit Cole, the oysterman and pilot mentioned earlier as a member of James Moore's household, in 1870 listed his occupation as sailor. John W. Harden, who listed himself as an oysterman in 1860, actually owned and commanded several trading vessels. William H. Simmons was also a schooner captain who seems to have followed oystering only briefly.[48] Few were outsiders. A notable exception was the Tucker family. Cooper Benjamin Tucker moved his entire family from Calvert County to Piles Wharf on the Patuxent. Several of his sons were bay mariners or sailors in 1862. Only two remained in St. Mary's County in 1870, one a farm laborer, the other an oysterman. New Yorker James Barron moved to Beggers Neck in 1855, purchased the *Sarah Ann,* and continued as an oysterman into the 1870s. German-born Charles H. Huseman arrived in St. Mary's from Virginia in 1861 and oystered with the sloop *Teaser* on the Potomac, but in 1870 he, too, listed his occupation as sailor.[49]

Unloading oysters in the big Baltimore market in 1905. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Warren Collection, MSA SC 1890-4466.)

For most, oystering did not become a lifetime occupation. Richard Ellis, who worked on his father's tenant farm in 1850, was "captain of a vessel" in 1862 and a farm laborer in 1870. The brothers Richard and William Arnold were oystermen, then sailors, and finally farm laborers. Carpenter William C. Wheatley's three sons abandoned oystering for farming. On the other hand, Richard Moore and John A. Maryman still oystered in 1870. A. Eccleston McWilliams was only twelve in 1860, but at age fifteen he was master of a schooner running oysters to Washington. His father's diary gives a glimpse of an oysterman's life in the 1860s. Living on St. Clement's Island, father and son were in the center of rich oyster bars. Two of McWilliams's sons and his son-in-law oystered and rented rooms to other oystermen. Oystering was a year-round activity for this family. Most of their haul they sent off on steamboats to Washington. On March 29, 1869, they shipped twenty barrels to that city on the steamer *Express* to be sold on commission. They also sold to "Boston schooners," at one period at the rate of 1,800 to 2,000 bushels per day.[50]

The oystermen living off St. George's Island in 1860 fell into three general groups: older men who came to oystering from other occupations, sailors who appear to have turned to oystering as a sideline, and the younger generation, which sometimes made oystering its vocation. During the 1860–1861 oyster

"season" three thousand men caught three million bushels of oysters, with an estimated $350 income per man. The Civil War clearly interrupted the business, but the production for 1865, under a new licensing law, was 4,879,500 bushels. At that time there were 229 men licensed in St. Mary's County. The majority of these licensees were not local. The number of *resident* oystermen in 1860 was seventy (in 1870, seventy-seven). There were two hundred canoes tonging the Patuxent, and seventy-five tonging the mouth of the Potomac and the St. Mary's Rivers. The new law allowed for the return of dredges, and an examination of reports of the oyster police in 1868 and 1869 reveal the violators of the law to be largely from Baltimore and the Eastern Shore. Later reports emphasize the "war" between tongers and dredgers, and the degraded conditions of the poorer tongers. Despite these troubles, oystering, once mainly an avocational adjunct to farming, after 1865 offered lucrative opportunities on the water that could not be found on land.[51]

NOTES

1. Bretton W. Kent, Henry M. Miller, and Michael A. Smolek, "Proposal for a Maryland Coastal Zone Management Internship for the Analysis of Oyster Shell from Archaeological Sites," St Mary's City, Southern Maryland Regional Preservation Center, 1981, 1. Fr. Andrew White, "A Relation of Maryland," in Clayton C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland,* New York: Scribner's, 1910, 44. Bretton W. Kent, "Patterns of Oyster Utilization in St Mary's City, Maryland, between 1640 and 1740," photocopied paper, College Park: University of Maryland, n.d., 4–7. *1850 Census of St. Mary's County Maryland,* Leonardtown: St. Mary's County Historical Society, 1979. Shirley E. Colleary, Harvey L. Lineback, David Roberts, *1860 Census of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (Valley Lee: privately printed, 1982), 6, 15–17, 54–56, 65–66, 108,–115, 131–137, 211.

2. William Hebb to anonymous, May 16, 1807, Maryland Diocesan Archives (hereinafter referred to as MDA).

3. *National Intelligencer,* October 15, 1814.

4. Ibid., April 9, 1816.

5. Brother Joseph Mobberly to Father Grassi, October 13, 1813, 204 T 12, Maryland Province Archives, Georgetown University (hereinafter referred to as MPA).

6. Joseph Jackson to Bishop James Kemp, February 18, 1812, MDA.

7. The four individuals were John Ford Jr. (1797), Ignatius Stone (1844), Charles Johnson (1845), and Gusty Curtis (1856). See St. Mary's County Inventories, 17 vols., 1796–1865, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis (hereinafter referred to as HR).

8. John B. Perry Ledger, 1843–1847, MHR 19827, HR. Ignatius Guy, age 54, listed his occupation as laborer in 1850, and was most likely dead by 1860 (*1850 Census of St. Mary's County,* 42). Newtown Accounts, 1830–1852, 171 H, MPA, *1850 Census of St. Mary's County,* 276, and *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 109, 110. Edwin W. Beitzell, ed, "Diaries of John F. Dent, 1853–1898," *Chronicles of St. Mary's,* 27 (1979): 38; *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 136.

9. Peter Gough, *A Refutation of Sundry Written Charges made by the Rev. Ravaud Kearney of the Protestant Episcopal Church against Peter Gough* (Baltimore: privately printed, 1828), 13; St. Inigoes Accounts 1811–1814, 170 F, MPA; Joseph Mobberly, Journal, I, 133, Georgetown University Archives.

10. Inventory of Cornelius Manning, Inventories 1835–1840, HR.
11. William Whittingham to Hannah Whittingham, December 7, 1840, MPA. Mitchell is listed in the 1843 tax assessment as owning Porto Bello 581 acres and six slaves, one a male over age fourteen and most likely his oysterman. St. Mary's County Assessments, 1843, HR.
12. Newtown Accounts, 1818–1846, 100 1/2 F1, MPA.
13. *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of Maryland* (Annapolis: Jonas Green, 1820–21), ch. 20; *Report of the Oyster Commission of the State of Maryland,* January 1884 (Annapolis: James Young, 1884). This abundance continued into the early years of this century: "It was usual for those [oysters] that we took from Piney Point Creek at our grandfather's place to be as large as my father's hand, and not uncommon for some to be even larger. If the water was not too cold (and we could evade my mother!) we could wade at low tide to the bar and just pick up a doz. oysters in short time." (Hope Grace to author, May 11, 1992)
14. M. V. Brewington, *Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes and Bugeyes* (Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1963), 4. This is the standard work on log canoes. See also Robert H. Burgess, "Dugout Log Canoes," *Chronicles of St. Mary's,* 15 (1967): 1–8. Oysterman James H. Cawood of Newtown Manor advertised he had found the *Swan,* an eighteen-foot sailing canoe near the mouth of Bretton Bay (*St. Mary's Beacon,* July 11, 1861). See also Ernest Ingersol, "The Oyster Industry," *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States: Section V, History and Methods of the Fisheries,* George Goode Brown, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 164. Charles H. Stevenson, "The Oyster Industry of Maryland," *Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission,* vol. 12 for 1892 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 267. These are the standard works on the nineteenth-century oyster industry. Master Abstracts of Enrollments Issued at Maryland and Virginia Ports, 1815–1911, Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, RG 41, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as NA) show the registration of the *Martha Washington.*
15. Frederick Tilp, *The Chesapeake Bay of Yore* (Alexandria, Va.: privately printed, 1982).
16. Louis Sayer, "Arcady for Some," *Chronicles of St. Mary's,* 15 (1967): 120.
17. John F. Dent to [Lelia D. Dent], February 7, 1864, "Letters of John F. Dent of Burlington while a Member of the Maryland Assembly 1864," *Chronicles of St. Mary's,* 28 (1980): 275. Wathan advertised for his boat in the *St. Mary's Beacon,* August 5, 1858. The list of vessels owned by oystermen was compiled by taking the list of oystermen in the 1860 census, and comparing owners and masters with the vessels listed in Master Abstracts of Enrollments Issued at Maryland and Virginia Ports, 1815–1911, and Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868, Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, RG 41, NA. See also Registry & Clearance Papers, 1861–1862, Subject File U. S. Navy , RG 45, NA.
18. St. Inigoes Accounts, 1804–1832, 170 G, MPA. The oyster season was set in 1865 to run from September 1 to June 1 (*Maryland Laws,* 1865, ch. 181).
19. Inventories in 1818 show rakes and tongs worth twenty-five cents, St. Mary's County Inventories, 1817–1824, HR. Samuel Leach's wage was $100 per year. St. Inigoes Accounts, 1804–1832, 170 G, MPA.
20. Ingersol, "The Oyster Industry," 170.
21. St. Inigoes Accounts, 1805–1816, 170 D, and Newtown Accounts, 1805–1816, 1807–1816, 171 D, 171 E, MPA. Joseph Mobberly, Journal, 6:6, Georgetown University Archives. John B. Perry Ledger, 1843–1847, HR 19827, HR and *St. Mary's Beacon,* December 23, 1858. Assessment Papers, 1852, HR and *St. Mary's Beacon,* October 7, 1852. *St. Mary's Beacon,* December 9, 1852.
22. *Port Tobacco Times,* August 11, 1853.
23. *St. Mary's Beacon,* January 21, 1856.

24. Ibid., May 13, 1858. For Piney Point see St. Mary's County Alienations and Transfers, 1835 and Assessments 1837 to 1850, HR. For Moore's Landing see *St. Mary's Beacon*, May 25, 1854 and March 8, 1858. In the *Beacon* of November 17, 1859 Point Lookout's proprietor William C. Johnson warned against trespassers fishing or oystering in Point Lookout Creek.

25. A. J. Nichol, *The Oyster-Packing Industry of Baltimore, Its History and Current Problems* (College Park: University of Maryland, 1937), 1–2. *Maryland Laws,* 1820–21, ch. 20, forbids taking oysters except by tong or rake, and provides a fine of $100 for transportation of oysters out of state except by a citizen. Rev. Richard H. B. Mitchell to Bishop William R. Whittingham, March 19, 1842 and March 4, 1844, MDA. In these cases oysters were shipped on schooners that regularly traded between St. Mary's and Baltimore in general freight. On March 31, 1844 Mitchell wrote that "in the county we have an abundance of such as were sent you."

26. Registry & Clearance Papers, 1861–1862, Subject File U.S. Navy, RG 45, NA. The *William Page, Three Sisters,* and *Rough and Ready,* all from Somerset County, have enrollments listed in St. Mary's County in the 1850s, showing they were trading there (Master Abstracts of Enrollments Issued at Maryland and Virginia Ports, 1815–1911, Town Creek, St. Mary's, and Llewellinsburg, 1850–1865); Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, RG 41, NA. Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868; Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, RG 41, NA. This volume is not what its title implies, but rather the sole surviving port record for southern Maryland, listing entrances and clearances, enrollments, and bills of sale; American Trading Vessels, 1861–65, 1861–1862, Subject File U. S. Navy, RG 45, NA; Baltimore, Coastal Entrances and Clearances, Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, RG 41, NA. Ingersol, "The Oyster Industry," 165 shows a state total of 4,879,500 bushels, of which 1,216,375 were tonged. Major destinations were 2,895,000 bushels to Baltimore and 187,000 to Washington and Alexandria. There were two hundred canoes tonging the Patuxent and seventy-five in the Potomac and St. Marys Rivers. Stevenson, "The Oyster Industry of Maryland," 369 estimates the average catch at 1,000 bushels per man.

27. For Moore see United States Census, Population Schedules, St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1840, NA, *1850 Census of St. Mary's County,* 87 and *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 65. For Chesser see Jefferson B. Davis, "The Chesser Family of St. George's Island, Maryland," *Chronicles of St. Mary's,* 23 (1975): 81–86, and Master Abstracts of Enrollments, 1849–1859, *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 55–56. For Spalding see Master Abstracts of Enrollments, 1849–1859, *1850 Census of St. Mary's County,* 1 and *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 6, 131. Cheseldine owned or commanded eight different vessels in 1857–1858. (Master Abstracts of Enrollments, 1849–1859 and Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868). For Harden see *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 136. He owned the schooner *Martha Washington* in partnership with Cheseldine (Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868). For Lloyd see *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 136 and St. Mary's County, License Papers, 1859, HR. Goldsmith appears in *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 133. His property in the census is listed at $17,000, in the assessment $3,956, including 150 acres and eight slaves (St. Mary's County, Alienations and Transfers, 1851–1857, 1858–1865 HR). Registry & Clearance Papers, 1861–1862, Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868.

28. Rev. Francis H. L. Laird to Bishop Stone, October 17, 1834, MDA. A careful search of the Coroners Inquests and the Criminal Papers for St. Mary's did not reveal any instances of violence that can be linked of oystermen (St. Mary's County Coroners Inquests, 1835–1864, and Criminal Papers, 1817–1866, HR). *Maryland Laws,* 1829–1830, ch. 87, 1832, ch. 265, 1837, ch. 310. Stevenson, *The Oyster Industry of Maryland,* 236, 241, 249–50.

29. "Hog Island," Descriptions of Stations, Patuxent River, 1846, Records of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, GA 857, vol. 23878, NA. Such watch houses were erected in Virginia. See Larry S.

Chowning, *Harvesting the Chesapeake, Tools and Traditions* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1990), 127–138. *Maryland Laws,* 1849, ch. 211.

30. *St. Mary's Beacon,* May 4, 1854. A plat for an oyster bed on Bretton Bay belonging to Mrs. Ellen Ann Manning appears in the Manning Papers, G 807, HR. Benjamin Tippett, county surveyor, recorded surveys of nine oyster coves "suitable for growing oysters," from 1852 to 1855. They ranged from a fifth of an acre up to eight acres. All patentees were at the time engaged in farming, although two, Zachariah Goldsmith and George W. Blakistone, were later to have an interest in oystering (see notes 24 and 27). The areas patented were on Dukehart, St. Patrick's, and Tomakokin Creeks in the Fourth District, on the upper reaches of the St. Mary's River in the Second District, and on St. Jerome's and Harry James's Creeks in the First District (Benjamin Tippett Survey Book vol. 1, 58–59, 66–67, 71, 132, HR). Goldsmith advertised his farm on St. Patrick's Creek in 1865 with 3,000 bushels of oysters bedded (*St. Mary's Gazette,* January 12, 1865. William Coad was assessed $5 for an acre of oyster land near Cherryfields off the St. Mary's River in 1862 (St. Mary's County, Assessment Papers, 1862, HR).

31. *St. Mary's Beacon,* August 10, 1854.

32. Ibid., May 4, 1854.

33. Anonymous letter [post 1865] to Mr. John Young, 99 H 3, MPA.

34. Tippett, Survey Book, 2:141. *St. Mary's Beacon,* March 11, 1858.

35. Tippett, Survey Book, 2:141.

36. Ibid., 2:88–131.

37. Ibid., 2:141.

38. *St. Mary's Beacon,* May 24 and 31, July 19, August 9 and 16, September 20, 1860. The gentlemen involved were all wealthy landowners; all but Tippett were residents of the Fourth District (*1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 163, 172, 145, 123 & 57). Tippett lived across from St. George's Island.

39. "Notes on the present state of our farms," 1841, 99 L 3, MPA. Two tenants were on the island, renting farms at $100. Sometime in the 1840s they contracted with Capt. Robert Duvall, owner of the Poplar Hill steam sawmill, but concluded that arrangement in 1850 (St. Mary's County Assessments, 1843–1850 and Lilly Journal, vol. 1, MPA). Fr. Lilly reported that the island had been sold to Ennals Rozell and John H. Robrecht for $8,000, but the deed was not properly executed until 1858, (ibid.), Ennals Rozell to Charles C. Lancaster, December 17, 1852 and December 18, 1858, 100 K 1/2, 100 K 1, MPA.

40. Charles C. Lancaster to Joseph Maitland, January 7, 1850, with enclosure, 100 K 00, MPA.

41. Ibid.

42. Printed advertisement, 100 K 0, MPA.

43. Ennals Rozell to Charles C. Lancaster, December 18, 1858, 100 K 1, MPA, outlines the sale of lots. The deeds as recorded were from C. C. Lancaster (St. Mary's County Deeds, JTB I, JTB II, JTB III, JTB IV, HR).

44. Ephriam Chesser, born in Accomack County, Va, was a resident of Queen Anne's County, and owner of the *Telegraph* (Jefferson B. Davis, "The Chesser Family," 81–86 and St. Mary's County Inventories, 1853, HR). Chesser apparently contracted to purchase the whole island, but died before a deed could be fully executed, as his heirs were credited with the island in the assessment (St. Mary's County Alienations and Transfers, 1854, HR). Walter Chesser is found in United States Census, Population Schedules, Dorchester County, 1850; his ship is recorded in Master Abstracts of Enrollments in 1854 and 1859 at Deal Island. George Poe (in 1860 an oysterman) and John W. Shiles lived across St. George's Creek on the mainland (ibid., 66); their neighbors pilots James and George Moore were likewise also engaged in oystering (ibid.). Poe's vessel the *Victory* is recorded in Master Abstracts of Enrollments, 1855 in Accomack, and 1858 in Dorchester County. Trice appears as a wa-

terman in Enrollment Record, St. Mary's County, Election District 2, 1862, Records of the Adjutant General, HR. For population of St. George's Island see *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 54–56 and United States Census, Slave Schedules, St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1860, NA. The agricultural census shows the Adams's and Robrecht with small farms, and Walter Chesser, Thomas Crowder and George Messeck with milk cows, corn fields and vegetable gardens (Productions of Agriculture in Maryland, 1860, HR). Between 1864 and 1865 George Messeck, Samuel Trader and Thomas Crowder purchased lots from Rozell, then of Washington, D.C. (St. Mary's County Deeds, JTB, IV, HR). Abigail Bourjaily, "The Historical, Linguistic Background of St. George's Island," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, 13 (1965): 198–224.

45. Ingersol , "The Oyster Industry," 162. Ingersol describes the moral and social condition of St. Mary's oystermen as "fair," and their summer occupation as fishing and agriculture (ibid.).

46. Anonymous draft, ca. 1865–70, offering Newtown for sale, 99 H 3, MPA. Matthew Wheatley first appears selling beef and oysters to Mrs. Alethea Spalding in 1834. He married in 1844, was a tenant farmer in the First District in 1850, had by 1851 acquired seventeen acres, and in 1860 was oystering along with his son. (Benedict Spalding Estate Book, 1832–1838, HR, *1850 Census of St. Mary's County*, 114, and *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 17).

47. 1860 Census of St. Mary's County, 110–115.

48. Ignatius Moore first appears in navigation in the Second District in 1840; by 1850 he had moved to the First District, still a sailor, and in 1860 he was an oysterman and farmer, renting fifty acres (United States Census, Population Schedules, St. Mary's County, 1840, *1850 Census of St. Mary's County*, 111, *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 15, and Productions of Agriculture in Maryland, 1860). His son Isadore was also an oysterman and farmer. John Merrit Cole was also in navigation in the Second District in 1840, was absent from the county in 1850, and in 1860 is listed as a pilot and oysterman in the household of pilot and captain of an oyster vessel James Moore. (United States Census, Population Schedules, St. Mary's County, 1840, *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 65. John W. Harden is in *1850 Census of St. Mary's County*, 127, *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 135, and his vessels *Four Sisters* and *Friendship* appear in St. Mary's County, Assessment Papers, 1849, HR, and Master Abstract of Enrollments, 1859. He was murdered in 1869, but his son became an oysterman (Margaret K. Fresco, *Marriages and Deaths, St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1634–1900* (Ridge, Md: privately printed, 1982), 394. William H. Simmons, a sailor in 1850, was born in South Carolina (*1850 Census of St. Mary's County*, 129), is not present in the 1860 census, but is master of the long boat *Rising Sun*, which was oystering in St. Mary's in 1861, and master of two schooners sailing out of Llewellinsburg in 1864 (Registry & Clearance Papers, 1861–1862, Master Abstract of Enrollments, 1864).

49. United States Census, Population Schedules, Calvert County, 1850. *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 211, Enrollment Record, St. Mary's County, Election District 6, HR, Persons Enrolled and Subject to the Draft in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1863, Record Group 110, NA, *1870 Census of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, compiled by the St. Mary's County Historical Society (Leonardtown, Md: privately printed, c. 1991). For Barron see *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 109, Persons Enrolled and Subject to the Draft, *1870 Census of St. Mary's County, Maryland*. Barron's youngest child was born in Maryland in 1855. He purchased the schooner *Sarah Ann* in 1857 and was in the Potomac trade in 1861, Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868, Registry & Clearance Papers, 1861–1862, *1870 Census of St. Mary's County*. For Huseman see Registry & Clearance Papers, 1861–1862, Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868, *1870 Census of St. Mary's County*.

50. For Ellis see *1850 Census of St. Mary's County*, 150, *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 131, Enrollment Record, St. Mary's County, Election District 4, and *1870 Census of St. Mary's County*. For the Arnolds see *1860 Census of St. Mary's County*, 134, Enrollment Record, St. Mary's County, Election

District 4, and *1870 Census of St. Mary's County.* William was owner of the sloop *Blossom* in 1862, and Richard was master of the schooner *White Pigeon* (Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868). For the Wheatley family see *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 16, and *1870 Census of St. Mary's County.* Richard Moore was the son of pilot and oyster vessel owner James Moore. Both Moore and Maryman were listed as watermen in 1862 (*1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 65, 108, Enrollment Record, St. Mary's County, Election Districts 2 and 3, *1870 Census of St. Mary's County.* For McWilliams see *1860 Census of St. Mary's County,* 137, *1870 Census of St. Mary's County,* Registry & Clearance Papers, 1861–1862, Hospital Record, Llewellinsburg, 1858–1868, and his father's diary (Edwin W. Beitzell, ed., "Diary of Dr. Joseph L. McWilliams, 1868–1875," *Chronicles of St. Mary's,* 23–24 (1975–76): 17–24, 37–44, 45–50, 73–80, 93–100, and 157–163).

51. Stevenson, *The Oyster Industry of Maryland,* 229, 265; Ingersol, "The Oyster Industry," 165. Ingersoll takes a dim view of the tongers, whom he describes as "illiterate, indolent, and improvident . . . unwilling to engage in any steady occupation. . . . it is almost impossible to get them to do any steady farm work. . . . A tongman can, at anytime, take his canoe or skiff and catch from the natural rocks a few bushels of oysters, for which there is always a market. Having made a dollar or two, he stops work until that is used up" (157). Hunter Davidson, *Report upon the Oyster Resources of Maryland* (Annapolis, Md.: George Colton, 1869). Davidson described the dredgers as strong and rich and the tongers weak and poor, and he called for conservation. He also reported two dredges and 336 canoes in St. Mary's and one dredge and 189 canoes in Calvert (16). Reports of the Oyster Police Force, 1868, 1869, HR. A detailed account of the Oyster Police, founded in 1868, can be found in John R. Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of Chesapeake Bay* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1981).

Portrait thought to be of Francis Nicholson, circa 1710, a long-time rival of Edmund Andros and rightful governor of Maryland when Lionel Copley died in 1693. The provenance is perhaps South Carolina, Nicholson's last gubernatorial appointment. The portrait is now lost, but the image used here is a photograph probably provided by the dealer in 1940, when the painting was offered to the Rockefellers as they were restoring Colonial Williamsburg. The search to authenticate the portrait continues, with documentation to date maintained in the reference files of the Maryland State Archives, Commission on Artistic Property. (Photo courtesy Maryland State Archives SC 1621-590. Curatorial note courtesy Elaine Rice, Curator of Artistic Property, Maryland State Archives.)

The Feuding Governors: Andros and Nicholson at Odds in Colonial Maryland

CHRISTOPHER T. GEORGE

Lionel Copley, Maryland's first royal governor, died suddenly on September 9, 1693. The unexpected demise of Copley, who had been appointed governor after the Catholic proprietary government of Lord Baltimore was overthrown by Protestant rebels in 1689, created a vacuum of power. Copley's henchmen and others vied for control of the colonial government while the man who should have taken command, Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson, was away in England. Once more the young colony of Maryland tottered on the edge of civil unrest. Into this imbroglio stepped Sir Edmund Andros, governor of the neighboring colony of Virginia, brandishing a royal commission that he claimed entitled him to serve as governor of Maryland as well.

Andros then served as interim governor of the Maryland colony from September 1693 to May 1694. His assumption of the governorship was immediately called into question after Francis Nicholson returned from England in the summer of 1694 and began his duties as governor. Nicholson took issue with the commission Andros had brought from Virginia. The actual wording of the commission states that Andros could act as governor of Maryland *in the event of Nicholson's death and in the absence of Copley.* The circumstances in which Andros made his claim were the exact opposite. This was noted at the meeting of the council where Andros suddenly appeared, but at that time it was not seen as an obstacle to accepting his commission.

Andros's conduct in Maryland also came in for scrutiny at council meetings chaired by Nicholson. Andros had only visited the capital at St. Mary's City twice, yet he asked for the sum of £500 for his services, a sizable sum for a colony in severe financial straits. Finally, Nicholson's government declared Andros's interim governorship illegal and appealed to London to ask the Virginia governor to repay the money he had received. The English Board of Trade eventually forced Andros to reimburse the government of Maryland £300 of the £500. The actions of Edmund Andros in Maryland remain controversial and have been the subject of debate between historians David W. Jordan (who takes a dim view) and Jeanne G. Bloom (who sees Andros more benignly).[1]

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Sir Edmund Andros claimed the governorship of Maryland upon the death of Lionel Copley in 1693. (Courtesy of Geoffrey R. Andrews, Worcester, England.)

How did this bizarre episode in Maryland history come about? It seems likely that it was due, first, to the singularly strong and contradictory personalities of Edmund Andros (1637–1714) and Francis Nicholson (1655–1728) and, second, to a bitter personal feud between these colonial administrators that continued for a decade, from 1689 to 1698, with waves rolling all the way back to London.

Sir Edmund Andros's "illegal" Maryland governorship adds yet another wrinkle to his controversial career. The colonial governor has been castigated by New England historians from Cotton Mather to John G. Palfrey and in literature by Nathaniel Hawthorne, who described him as a tyrant of "hard and cruel eye" who beheld the American masses with "lurid wrath." Indeed, Andros is probably best remembered as the royal governor overthrown by Bostonian rebels in April 1689 in the colonial version of England's Glorious Revolution. Yet his removal in 1689 was only one of several times when his authority was challenged and he faced charges in England. Imprisoned at Boston, this Guernsey soldier-aristocrat with a lineage dating back to 1286 was damned as a Jacobite, but when he was tried by the English Privy Council the complaints of the New Englanders were not upheld and the government of William and Mary backed him for further colonial service. This pattern repeated itself throughout his career. Despite his difficulties with the colonists, the English clearly regarded Andros as a model royal servant. He was sent out successively to the American colonies to govern New York (1674–1681), the Dominion of New England (1686–1689), and Virginia (1692–1698). Perhaps encapsulating the view of fellow royal officials, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher,

who governed New York and Pennsylvania while Andros ruled in Virginia, stated that Andros was "never Guilty of an Immorrall thing" in New England.[2]

Like the majority of colonial governors, Fletcher, Copley, and Nicholson included, Andros was a military man. He served in the Grenadier Guards until commissioned major in the Barbados Regiment in 1667, saw his first colonial service in the West Indies, then returned to Europe to become bailiff of the island of Guernsey in 1674, succeeding his father, Amias Andros. Although Andros has often been characterized as a mere soldier, Stephen Saunders Webb states that he likely knew more about the art of governing from his experience in Guernsey than he has been given credit for; even there, however, his actions were often viewed as arbitrary and arrogant.

In 1680, six years after his appointment as lieutenant governor of New York, an incident occurred that demonstrates Andros's high-handedness and seems of a piece with his claim for his Maryland commission. As a result of royal patronage, Captain Philip Carteret, a cousin of Andros, presumed to rule in New Jersey as "governor" and to split that province off from New York. Andros viewed Carteret's action as a threat to the *status quo,* and he appeared in Elizabeth Town in April 1680 flourishing his commission to rule New York, much as he appeared in St. Mary's City thirteen years later. Carteret was arrested and thrown into prison and placed on trial five weeks later with Andros presiding and probably fully expecting a guilty verdict. To the governor's disgust, the jury found the prisoner "not guilty."

Andros repeatedly sent the jury back to reconsider "with threats that they should look to what they did, as there was too much depended upon it, for themselves, their entire condition and welfare." He succeeded in forcing the jury to issue a statement advising Carteret to return to private life and "not to assume any authority or jurisdiction . . . civil or military in New Jersey" until the Crown decided who should govern there.[3]

Excessive Fits of Passion

At the time of the Carteret trial, Francis Nicholson, a Yorkshireman nineteen years younger than Andros, had only just begun his imperial career, serving as a lieutenant in the English garrison in Tangier, North Africa. Later he was a captain in the English garrison town of Portsmouth before being sent across the Atlantic in command of a company of troops in the winter of 1686–87 to supplement the garrison of Colonel Sir Edmund Andros, who was by then governor-general of the Dominion of New England. The two men seem to have cooperated at first, with the younger man displaying great energy. He helped supervise construction of a fort to command the streets of Boston, traveled to Connecticut to persuade that colony to surrender its charter, went on a diplomatic and espionage mission against the French in Acadia (later Nova Scotia), and worked on undermining proprietorial claims in Maine. For these services, Andros nominated Nicholson to the council of the

Dominion of New England, and Nicholson was duly sworn in by the council on August 24, 1687.

In New England, as later in Virginia and Maryland, Nicholson began a series of generous benefactions to Anglican churches and colleges, the aim of which, Webb maintains, was "to support the teaching of political obedience to a new generation of colonial leaders." His loyalty and exertions were noted back in England. When the Dominion was extended south to the Delaware River in 1688, Nicholson was named lieutenant governor and sent to command the garrison in New York.[4]

In the spring of 1689, when the rebels overthrew the Dominion of New England, Nicholson was stationed at Fort James in New York. A tendency in Nicholson to quick anger led him to surrender the fort, an event that began his estrangement from Andros. The Yorkshireman had an outrageous temper that made him lose control both of himself and situations. An Indian once remarked of Nicholson that he was "born drunk"—apparently meaning *not* that he was a drunkard (Nicholson was said never to drink "any strong liquor") but that he had a drunkard's temper.

The colonial scholar Cadwallader Colden stated that Nicholson "was subject to excessive fits" of passion, to the extent that he lost his sense of reason. When he found his authority threatened, he vowed to shoot the American militia officers and said he would rather see New York reduced to ashes than have them in command of the city. The remark (not surprisingly) brought on a general rebellion, and Nicholson ended up surrendering the fort without firing a shot. He left for England while Sir Edmund languished in jail in Boston.

This circumstance Andros never forgave. Both men were career army officers and the governor could justifiably view his subordinate of being guilty of having deserted his post. Bloom has stated that among Andros's traits was an "aristocratic fondness" for those who served him loyally. He rewarded those who remained faithful to him; similarly, he seems to have scorned those who failed him. Nicholson's capitulation at Fort James must have been especially galling for Andros, because he had greatly strengthened the fort after the Dutch had briefly recaptured the city from the English in 1673–74. The fort was his official residence. He is said to have never left the city without placing the fort in the hands of a "trusted" subordinate and alerting the garrison. He viewed the holding of Fort James for the governor-general, the Duke of York (later James II), as a sacred trust, even remarking that "If I should surrender without the Duke's order, it is as much as my head is worth."[5]

Webb believes that prior to the surrender of Fort James Andros and Nicholson may have argued over the advisability of a frontier policy and over pay for the troops. However, Nicholson's capitulation at Fort James certainly set the seal on a lasting enmity between the two men that was to continue over the next ten years, throughout the remainder of Andros's colonial service. There also may have been an element of self-loathing in Andros's hatred of Nicholson, because, as Ian Steele points out, Andros, though a military man, had

Fort James, New York, which Nicholson surrendered to Protestant rebels in 1689, marking the beginning of his feud with Andros. (Courtesy of the Long Island Historical Society.)

failed to invoke martial law in Boston to stem civil unrest, perhaps by that time seeing his role more as politician than soldier.[6]

Although Andros nursed his grudge against his former deputy, officials in London, perhaps recognizing Nicholson's accomplishments in the colonies thus far and the dangerous situation he had faced in New York, did not find fault with him. Within months Nicholson was named lieutenant governor of Virginia, arriving there in May 1690, nominally as second-in-command but actually as *de facto* governor because Lord Howard of Effingham, the man named as governor-general, never visited Virginia, a circumstance that was common among Virginia's royal governors prior to the American Revolution.

Andros Trumps in Virginia

As acting executive in Virginia, Nicholson campaigned for the governor-generalship against the day when Lord Howard would step down. His chance came two years later. To Nicholson's outrage, however, Andros was named to the position, presumably because of his superior Tory connections. Edward Randolph, royal surveyor-general of customs, stated that Nicholson was "in a high ferment upon ye News Sir Edmund Andros was coming Governor to Virginia." Andros arrived in Virginia on September 13 and was met by Nicholson and a military guard who escorted him to James City. On September 20 Nicholson introduced him to the councilors, informing the new governor, no doubt with suppressed sarcasm, that he could expect "Cheerful and ready obedience . . . in the People here." The air must have been electric with animosity. Alarmed at the obvious enmity between Andros and Nicholson, James Blair, London's representative in Virginia, wrote to the Earl of Nottingham, the English Secretary of State, that if Nicholson remained as lieutenant governor, the colony might split into two parties. Fortunately, after confronting Andros about an issue of back pay, Nicholson sailed angrily for England. When he

reached London, he was still so visibly embittered that officials prevented his return to Virginia so he would not quarrel with the new governor. It may reasonably be conjectured that Andros maneuvered behind the scenes to request that the younger man *not* come back as his deputy.[7]

Thus, instead of continuing to function as lieutenant governor of Virginia (an office he still technically held) or realizing his aim of being named governor-general of that prosperous colony, Nicholson was appointed to the lesser position of lieutenant governor of Maryland, the poorer royal colony to the north, then in turmoil. Colonel Lionel Copley had been named governor of Maryland in 1690 but did not come out to the colony until April 1692. As Jordan describes the period, Copley held power over the next fifteen months for "a short tenure characterized by intrigue, corruption and dissension." Nicholson found himself in the same camp as Edward Randolph and colonial secretary Sir Thomas Lawrence in opposing the vices of the Copley regime. Copley, previously lieutenant governor of Hull, spent his time lining his own pockets and rewarding supporters such as council member Nehemiah Blakiston out of the tobacco duties that according to the Navigation Acts should have gone to the Crown.

Recognizing that trade was a source of national strength, Nicholson, as he had in Virginia, aimed to enforce the acts to maximize the return for the royal customs. Naturally, Nicholson, Randolph, and Lawrence ran afoul of Copley. Lawrence was slapped into prison, Randolph was forced to flee to Virginia, where he received shelter from his old master Edmund Andros, and Nicholson chose to remain in England.[8]

The Copley regime waged a relentless propaganda war against its enemies, and Nicholson and Andros were on the receiving end of accusations, Andros for sheltering Randolph and refusing to release him to Maryland justice, Nicholson for having gone "upon some private Sinister Account," presumably to offer evidence "in prejudice to this Government." Nicholson was accused of "favouring and associating himself with none but Papists and others of the dissafected Party their Majestys known Enemys" and Andros was singled out by hearsay in depositions by Gilbert Turbevile and St. Mary's City innkeeper Garret Van Sweeringen of talking "freely & openly" of a restoration of James II.

Andros wrote a letter to Copley stating, "I am Suprized that popish or other dissaffected persons to their Majestys can give you trouble at this time & doubt not your having taken fitting courses with such & pticularly Gilbert Turbevile & Garret Vansweeringen you are pleased to name being the Concealors & Abbettors if not Contrivers of what [they] alledgeth to have been said falsly Reflecting on my self & their Majestys Council." Copley's reply was smug. "Vansweeringen has passed his Trial publickly in our Provincial Court," he wrote, implying that the accusations had a basis, and he appealed once more for the return of Randolph because of the "hue & cry for several notorious Crimes & misdeameanors of very high Nature."[9]

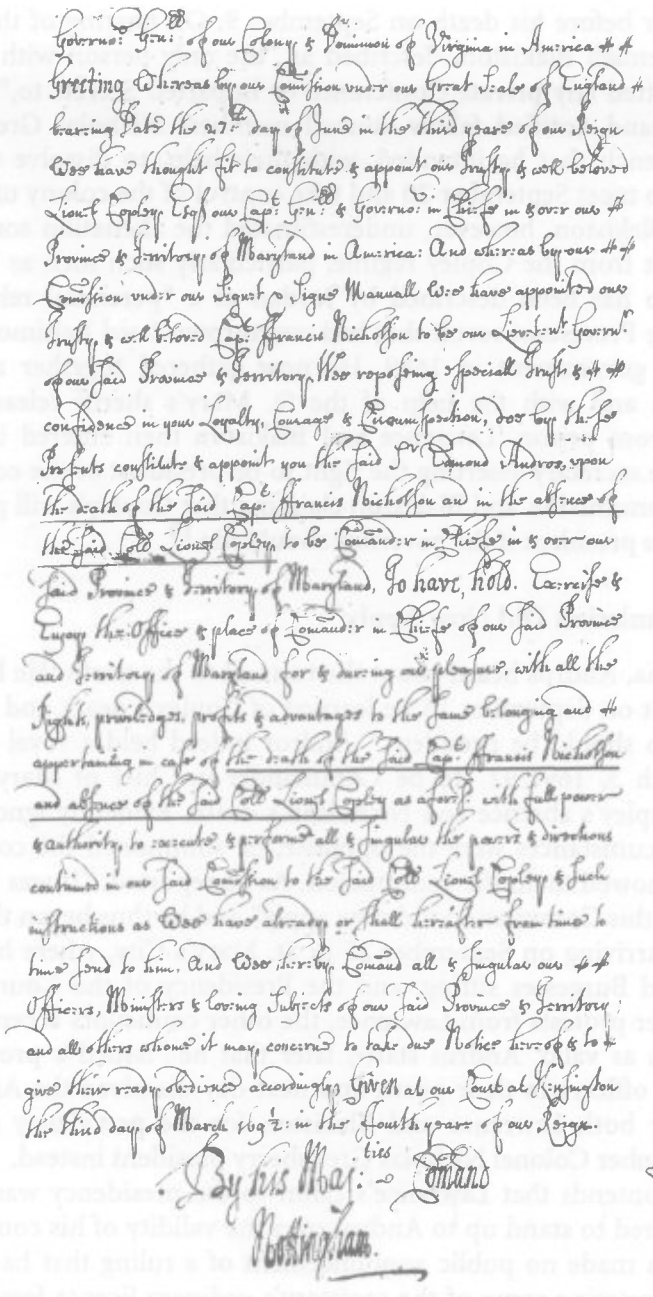
Copley was not a well man and was bedridden through much of the spring

and summer before his death on September 9. On hearing of the governor's death, Nehemiah Blakiston, described as "the only person with whom [Copley] permitted any private Conference or imparted Secrets to," hastened to the capital and notified fellow council members Nicholas Greenberry and Jonathan Tench that he intended, with their help, to dissolve the assembly scheduled to meet September 20 and take control of the colony under his own authority. Blakiston, however, underestimated the alienation some Marylanders had felt from the Copley regime, particularly such men as John Coode. Coode, who has been described by Jordan as a "perennial rebel," was the leader of the Protestant revolt that had overthrown Lord Baltimore's Catholic proprietary government in 1689. He now gathered together a number of armed men and with the help of the St. Mary's sheriff released secretary Lawrence from prison. Lawrence and Blakiston then entered into a power struggle, the secretary asserting the right to be president of the council by virtue of his commission and Blakiston claiming that Copley's will provided that he should be president if the governor should die.[10]

"This Commission Did Now Apply"

In Virginia, Andros heard about the turmoil to the north. He later wrote to London that on September 18 he learned of Copley's death and of the "great contest who should be president." Andros indeed held a royal commission, dated March 3, 1691/92 "to be Commander-in-Chief of Maryland" in the event of Copley's absence and Nicholson's death. Evidently ignoring the fact that the circumstances were the opposite, he summoned the council of Virginia and showed them the commission. As he reported, "It was unanimously agreed that this Commission did now apply" and he thus began the journey to Maryland, arriving on September 25 in St. Mary's City, where he "found the Council and Burgesses sitting, and the Presidency of the Council still contested." Over protests from Lawrence, the other councilors accepted Andros's commission as valid. Andros stated later that he "issued a proclamation to confirm all officers in their posts, and next day dissolved the Assembly." He passed over both Lawrence and Blakiston for the presidency and declared council member Colonel Nicholas Greenberry president instead.

Jordan contends that Lawrence's claim to the presidency was ignored because he dared to stand up to Andros over the validity of his commission and that Andros made no public announcement of a ruling that had come from London reinstating some of the secretary's ordinary license fees and clearing the way for him to be restored to his former position. Andros told London that he found that the charges against Lawrence had been sent to England and on calling for the council minutes he had "found no book, but only loose sheets, very imperfect" with no copy of the accusations against the secretary. If this was mere pique, it seems significant that Blakiston meanwhile was prohibited from sitting on the council. Both Lawrence and Blakiston, he said, were



Commission of Sir Edmund Andros recorded in the proceedings of the council, showing he was entitled to act as governor of Maryland in the event of Nicholson's death and the absence of Copley. Andros acted on the commission when the opposite situation arose. A curiosity to us today is that the document is dated at the bottom "the third day of March 1691/2." In this era, the New Year began on March 25. The days January 1 to March 24 were dated therefore with the double year, i.e., the same day one year earlier was March 3, 1690/1 (our 1691). (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3826.)

too ill to sit on the council (Blakiston would die in October). Lawrence's status was left undecided when after nine hectic days Andros left St. Mary's City, embarking from the Patuxent River for Virginia on October 3.[11]

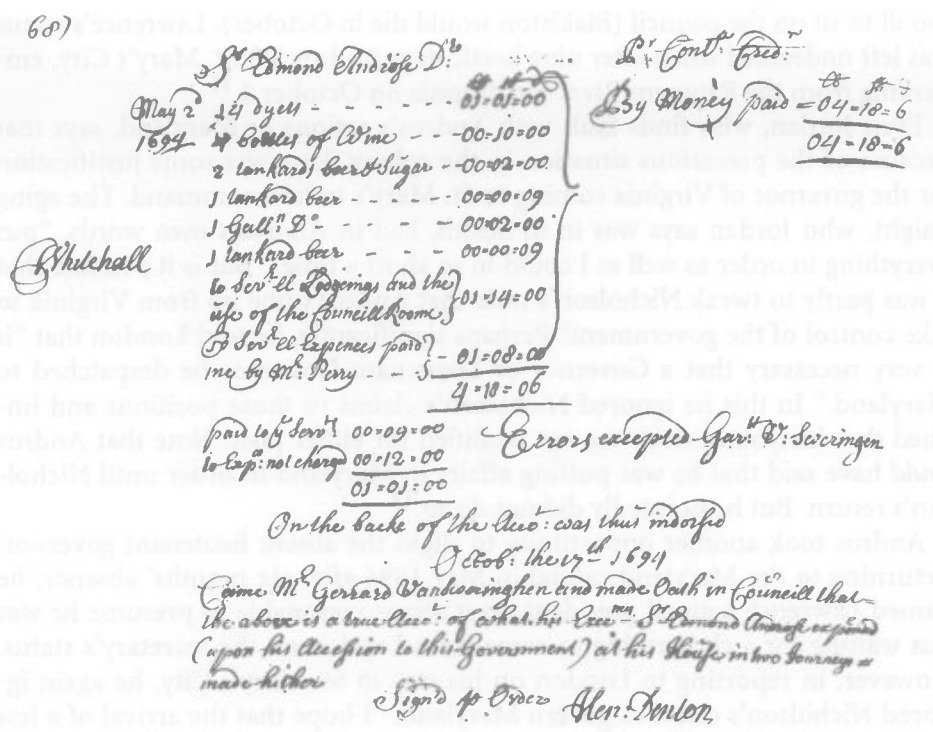
Even Jordan, who finds fault with Andros's actions in Maryland, says that because of the precarious situation in the colony there was some justification for the governor of Virginia coming to St. Mary's to take command. The aging knight, who Jordan says was in ill health, had in Andros's own words, "put everything in order as well as I could in so short a time." But is it possible that it was partly to tweak Nicholson's nose that Andros came up from Virginia to take control of the government? Perhaps significantly, he told London that "it is very necessary that a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor be despatched to Maryland." In this he ignored Nicholson's claims to those positions and implied that his young rival was not qualified for either post. Note that Andros *could* have said that he was putting affairs in Maryland in order until Nicholson's return. But he pointedly did not do so.[12]

Andros took another opportunity to slight the absent lieutenant governor. Returning to the Maryland capital in May 1694 after six months' absence, he named Lawrence council president, so it seems reasonable to presume he was just waiting for a clear ruling to come from London on the secretary's status. However, in reporting to London on his stay in St. Mary's City, he again ignored Nicholson's claim to govern Maryland. "I hope that the arrival of a few more Councillors will enable me to settle everything till the new Governor comes," he wrote. Again, a less embittered Andros might have written, "I hope that the arrival of a few more Councillors will enable me to settle everything till *Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson* returns."[13]

During his second and last visit to Maryland, Andros reportedly perused the accounts of the Maryland government and "did Say that he believed the Revenue of this Governmt was as Large as that of Virginia [a fact patently not true—Virginia was much the richer colony] and [he] therefore hoped that he might be considered for his Services here & Expenses disbursed in Undertakeing that Journey wch he said had been exterordinary and to the hazard of his life." Andros then proposed "that four or five hundred pounds might be Ordered him out of the said Revenue." Acceding to the request, the council ordered Attorney General George Plater to pay Andros £500 out of the tobacco revenues.[14]

Nicholson's Inquiries

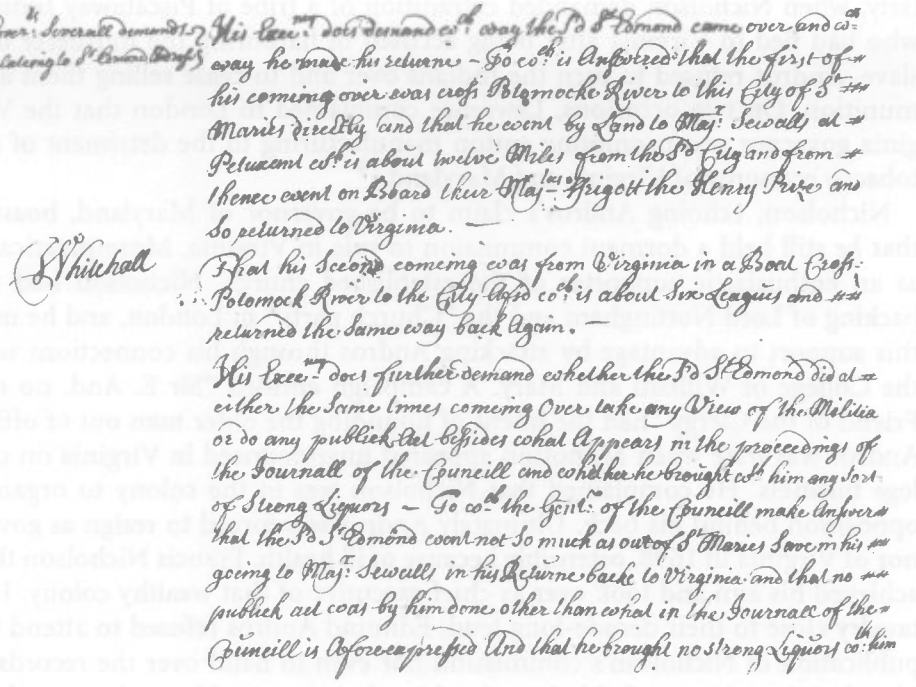
When Nicholson returned to Maryland in late July, he charged in a letter to the Bishop of London that Andros's seizure of the government of Maryland and the acceptance of the £500 from the state's treasury "was little less than petty Treason" and that if *he* had done half so much he would have been turned out of government.[15] The attorney general was instructed to write to Andros and ask for the money to be returned. In a letter of August 16, Plater stated to the Virginia governor that he had "a difficulty and obstruction" in



Andros's beer and wine account at Garret Van Sweeringen's tavern in St. Mary's City, 1694. Nicholson successfully used this record to discredit the Virginia governor and accuse his rival of extravagances enjoyed at the expense of Maryland. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3872.)

reconciling the £500, which he stated was "Wanted here for Supply of Armes and Ammunition" and also for Lawrence's salary as council president. On August 31, Andros wrote a curt, enigmatic reply saying he had received Plater's letter "wch I would not have thought from You [and] I presume as soone as thought you were Satisfyed was Effectually Answered at first in Yor Own hands."[16] In other words, no money.

Andros subsequently helped to fuel Nicholson's inquiry into his conduct in Maryland by blandly inquiring of London if Nicholson had yet taken the oath to uphold the Acts of Trade on taking over as governor. The new Maryland governor retaliated by demanding to know of his council what oaths of office Andros had taken in Maryland. He was told that although Andros had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy required by Parliament, he had not taken the oath to uphold the Acts of Trade! It was further stated that Andros had not given any direction for transmitting lists of ships trading in Maryland since Copley's death and had not reviewed the militia. Nicholson ascertained that Andros's expenses during his two trips totaled a mere £100, 18 shillings and 6 pence, including amounts for wine and beer provided by tavernkeeper Garret Van Sweeringen, all of which was itemized and tallied up in



Interrogatories to the Maryland council by Nicholson into Andros's actions while governor in 1693–1694. (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3872.)

the proceedings of the council for October 17, 1694. As noted earlier, Nicholson was not a drinker, and he made a point of inquiring whether Andros had brought with him "any Sort of Strong Liquors"—to which the gentlemen of the council replied that he had not. What was Nicholson's intent in this particular line of questioning? Perhaps he sought to paint Andros as a drunkard, or to make the point that he should have paid for his libations either out of his own pocket or out of the coffers of Virginia rather than those of Maryland.[17]

After reconsideration of the wording of Andros's commission, the council declared that Andros "did illegally assume" the government of Maryland and that "all Acts of State and other Matters passed Acted and done" under the commission were "vicious and Erroneous" and "that a Law [must] be procured" from England to make them legal. The matter was then referred back to England along with an appeal that Andros be forced to refund to Maryland the £500 he refused to give back. Through lobbying in London by Sir Thomas Lawrence, £300 of the £500 was later restored to Maryland. Evidently no ruling was ever received about the legality of Andros's interim government in Maryland.[18]

The remaining years of Andros's tenure as governor of Virginia were marked by further sniping between him and Nicholson. Andros, for example, refused to turn over John Coode, the former leader of the Protestant rebels, who had fled to Virginia after accusing Nicholson of maladministration. Simi-

larly, when Nicholson demanded extradition of a tribe of Piscataway Indians who had fled to Virginia after being accused of harboring the murderer of a slave, Andros refused to turn the Indians over and to cease selling them ammunition. On two occasions, Lawrence complained to London that the Virginia governor was promoting cotton manufacturing to the detriment of the tobacco economy of Virginia and Maryland.[19]

Nicholson, echoing Andros's claim to be governor of Maryland, boasted that *he* still held a dormant commission to rule in Virginia. More practically, as an enthusiastic supporter of the established church, Nicholson had the backing of Lord Nottingham and the "Church party" in London, and he used this support to advantage by attacking Andros through his connections with the College of William and Mary. A campaign entitled "Sir E. And. no real Friend of the Clergy" had the intent of hounding the older man out of office. Andros was irate when Nicholson appeared unannounced in Virginia on college business. He complained that Nicholson was in the colony to organize opposition behind his back. Ultimately Andros was forced to resign as governor of Virginia in 1698, ostensibly because of ill health. Francis Nicholson thus achieved his aim and took over as chief executive of that wealthy colony. In a tawdry close to their decade-long feud, Edmund Andros refused to attend the publication of Nicholson's commission nor even to hand over the records of his administration, probably knowing his adversary would use the records to discredit him with the Board of Trade.[20]

NOTES

1. The stormy period of Copley's death and Andros's assumption of the government of Maryland are discussed in two works by David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689–1715" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1966) and "Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of Maryland: A Royal Placeman's Fortunes in America," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 76 (spring 1981): 22–44. An overview of Andros's career in the American colonies is provided by Jeanne G. Bloom in "Sir Edmund Andros—A Study in Seventeenth Century Colonial Administration" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1962). Jordan in "Sir Thomas Lawrence" (42) is critical of Bloom for what he terms "a sympathetic portrayal of Andros which finds no fault with any of his actions in Maryland," and he maintains that his own research does not support the view that Andros was blameless for his conduct in the colony. Bloom (177, 181) implies that any blame put on Andros was the result of "a particular pique" that Nicholson had against the older man and that "Nicholson's letters and reports to the Plantation Office reveal him as a vain, excitable and frequently vituperative man."

2. Benjamin Fletcher quoted in Edward Randolph to William Blathwayt, January 1, 1692, in Robert Noxon Toppan and Alfred T. S. Goodrick, eds., *Edward Randolph: Including His Letters and Official Papers . . . 1676–1703* (7 vols.; Boston: Prince Society, 1898–1909), 7:423–425 (hereinafter cited as *Randolph Letters*). The quotations from Nathaniel Hawthorne are from "The Gray Champion" in *Twice-Told Tales* (2 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1900), 1:12. Andros's Guernsey background and ancestry are discussed in Edith F. Carey, "Amias Andros and Sir Edmund His Son,"

Guernsey Society of Natural Science and Local Research *Transactions*, 7 (1913–16): 38–68. The hearings into his early administrations in the Americas are recounted in Stephen Saunders Webb, "The Trials of Sir Edmund Andros" in James Kirby Martin, ed., *The Human Dimensions of Nation Making: Essays on Colonial and Revolutionary America* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976): 23–53. The hearing into complaints against Andros's final administration in Virginia is discussed by Bloom in "Edmund Andros," 219–225. A collection of contemporary documents pertaining to Andros's government in New England and its overthrow is provided in *The Andros Tracts. . .* (Boston: Prince Society, 1868–1874, 3 vols.; reprinted by Burt Franklin, 1966).

3. The Carteret trial is recounted in Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–1680* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 241. Webb in "The Trials of Sir Edmund Andros," 28, states: "Andros's comprehensive understanding and relatively successful management of American colonial economies was the result of that [Guernsey] experience, and of military missions that involved him in the supervision of commercial exchanges in both commodities and merchandise, which rebuts historical allegations of Major Andros's supposed soldierly limitations."

4. Webb, "Francis Nicholson," 515–522. Nicholson's generosity in regard to the furtherance of education in Virginia and Maryland is examined in Charlotte Webster, "King William's School and the College of William and Mary," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 78 (summer 1983):118–128.

5. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (15 vols.; Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853–1887), 3:307, 311. See also John Romelyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1871), 2:305. For a full discussion of Andros's early years as lieutenant governor of New York, see "Edmund Andros, English Imperialist" in Stephen Saunders Webb, *1676: The End of American Independence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 303–404. On Andros's rewarding of loyal servants, see Bloom, "Edmund Andros," viii, 177. The quote about Nicholson being "born drunk" is in Cadwallader Colden, "Letters on Smith's History of New York," New York Historical Society *Collections* (1868): 201. Ian Steele has written that although Nicholson came to America with superb military credentials "he handled the crisis in New York with so much caution as to appear militarily inept" and that through his reckless temper "he lost control of himself and his government." Ian K. Steele, "Governors or Generals? A Note on Martial Law and the Revolution of 1689 in English America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 46 (1989): 304–314.

6. Steele, ibid.; Webb, "Francis Nicholson," 523. Also see *Randolph Letters* 4: 252–253.

7. Randolph to Blathwayt, August 16, 1692, *Randolph Letters* 7:408–409; Webb, "Francis Nicholson," 527–532. Blair to Earl of Nottingham, March 29, 1693, Colonial Office (hereinafter CO), Public Record Office, London, Class 5, Series 1307, no. 8. Also *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1693–1696* (44 vols. to date; London, 1860– ; hereinafter *CSP*), no. 224, and CO 5, 1306, 133.

8. Nicholson to Lords of Trade, January 26, 1690, June 10, 1691, and February 26, 1691/2, CO 5, 1306, nos. 6, 41, 89. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland," ii, 99–115.

9. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–) 8:442–443, 511–513, 530. When Nicholson became governor, several men who had signed the letter of December 21, 1692 imputing that Nicholson was a papist or at least a papist sympathizer—Nicholas Greenberry, Thomas Tench, Jonathan Courts, and Thomas Brooke (the other signers, Nehemiah Blakiston and governor Copley, being dead)—either voluntarily or at Nicholson's insistence signed a deposition on June 4, 1697, stating that the 1692 letter was written "purely at the Instance and averment of his said Excellency Lionel Copley Esqr. & Mr. Blakiston"—and that they "never after heard any proof of those Allegations" but rather "upon better acquaintance &

knowledge of his Excllcy Govr Nicholson we find direct Contrary principles in him to what was then asserted. . ." *Archives of Maryland,* 8:565–566.

10. See David W. Jordan, "John Coode, Perennial Rebel," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 70 (spring 1975): 1–28, as well as his "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland," 102–130.

11. Andros to Lords of Trade, October 23, 1693, *CSP,* no. 637. Andros's Maryland commission is recorded in *Archives of Maryland,* 20:6–8. Bloom in "Edmund Andros," 177, states, "In March 1692 Andros had been commissioned to assume the government of Maryland in the event of the death or absence of both Copley and Nicholson." This statement is clearly not true: if the wording of the commission had read that way, there would be no dispute, and Andros would have been fully entitled to act as governor. Additionally, Bloom, 312, seems unaware that Andros requested and received the fee of £500 for his services in Maryland.

12. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland," 117–118. Andros to Lords of Trade, October 23, 1693, *CSP,* no. 637.

13. Andros to Lords of Trade, May 4, 1694, *CSP,* no. 1,037.

14. *Archives of Maryland,* 20:156.

15. Fulham Palace Papers, 182 (Va.) 7/6/1, Lambeth Palace Library, London.

16. Plater to Andros and Andros to Plater are in *Archives of Maryland,* 20:158–159. Jordan in "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland," 127, states that Andros was required by legislative act to pay for the arms and ammunition out of his salary and (162) that Nicholson as a "soldier-governor" was appalled at the "generally pathetic state" of the state militia. This leaves one to wonder how Andros as a military man could ignore Maryland's defensive needs while (at least in Jordan's view) lining his pockets. For Nicholson's concerns about the condition of the militia, see *Archives of Maryland,* 23:490.

17. Andros to Lords of Trade September 24, 1694, *CSP,* no. 1,337. For Nicholson's investigation of Andros's actions in Maryland, see *Archives of Maryland,* 20:148–149, 156–158.

18. The decision of the council on the illegality of Andros's commission is recorded in *Archives of Maryland,* 20:148. On the money refunded by Andros, see Lawrence to the Earl of Bridgewater, March 25, 1697, CO 5, 714, 1, no. 15, and *Archives of Maryland,* 23:72.

19. For Nicholson's appeals to the government of Virginia to extradite Coode and the Piscataway Indians, see *Archives of Maryland,* 20:35–37, and 23:142–146, respectively. Lawrence's complaints against Andros's promotion of cotton manufacturing are in *CSP,* June 25, 1695, no. 1916 and October 25, 1697, no. 857.

20. Nicholson's connections with the Virginia "college faction" are discussed by Webb in "Francis Nicholson," 533–534. Bloom describes the handover of power in Virginia from Andros to Nicholson in "Edmund Andros," 182.

Portfolio

This year, the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II, has been filled with commemorations and individual memories—some glorious, some deeply poignant, and some nostalgic for a time when the nation was united in a single cause. Here we revisit the Maryland home front through selected wartime images from the Hughes Company, a commercial photography firm founded in Baltimore in 1878 by James F. Hughes and operated from 1903 to the late 1970s by James W. Scott and his son Gaither Scott. These images are from the large Gaither Scott Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, now undergoing extensive cataloguing in the Prints and Photographs Division.

War Bond drive, 1943

Baltimore City School No. 68, 1943

United Services Organization (USO), 1943

Women on the job, 1945

Thomas & Thompson drugstore window, 1943

Share-a-Ride, 1942

Blood drive at Westinghouse Electric Corporation, 1943

Lee Uniform Cap Manufacturing Company, 1943

Fort Meade wedding, 1942

Blackout windows, 1942

U.S. Coast Guard, 1943

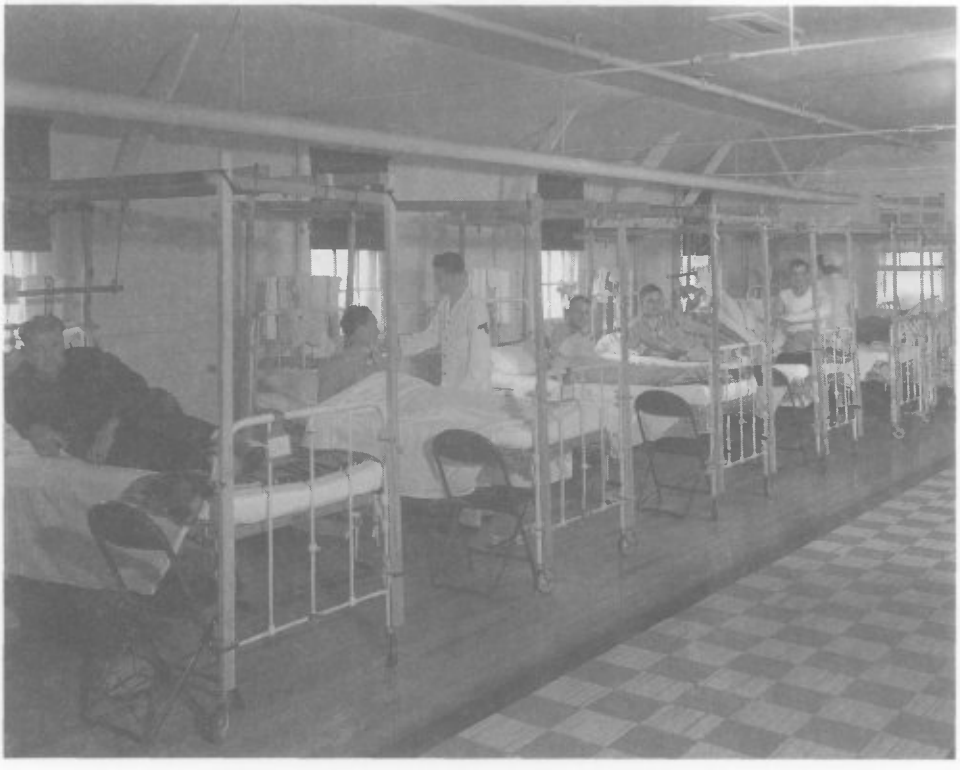
Government production award at American Hammered Piston Ring Company, 1943

Wartime housing at Armistead Gardens, Baltimore, 1943

Rheem Manufacturing Company, 1943

Trailer camp, Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company, 1942

Infirmary, Aberdeen Proving Ground, 1943



Book Reviews

Tidewater Time Capsule: History Beneath the Patuxent. By Donald G. Shomette. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1995. 370 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95.)

Donald Shomette's *Tidewater Time Capsule* is an important book that sheds new light on past events in the Patuxent River valley. It is at once a well-researched history, a skillful archeological report, and a personal memoir. Shomette's descriptive gifts are evident in the preface, as he portrays a 1988 press conference at which Governor William Donald Schaefer announced initiatives that gave Maryland leadership in historical preservation and nautical archeology. A key to these developments was Shomette's management of a pilot program that had successfully utilized the techniques of nautical archeology, oral history, and archival research.

After carefully defining the philosophy and methods of nautical archeology, Shomette explains why this discipline is needed for insight into the past of a region characterized by its relationship to the Chesapeake Bay and its numerous estuaries. Traditional historiography, drawing on what is left of the documentary record, is not enough to provide us with a full understanding of the life of a maritime community. This can be readily appreciated by a public that is fascinated by worlds unseen, those in outer space as well as beneath the seas, as demonstrated in numerous television documentaries.

In the first six chapters, Shomette establishes the context of this study, providing a concise summary of the colonial events that characterized the social structure and economy in the Patuxent River valley through the War of 1812. The aftermath of that conflict exacted such a price from citizens within reach of marauding British amphibious forces that its effects are noticeable even today. He deftly describes the decline of water transportation and fisheries of the Patuxent as forest clearance, agriculture, industry, and rural and suburban community development released unprecedented siltation and led to the gradual fouling of Patuxent tributaries with chemicals and human wastes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In this setting, in the late 1970s, Shomette, with the help of Ralph Eshelman, then director of the Calvert Marine Museum, launched his project to rediscover the history of the Patuxent River. After archival research, the gathering of local and folk history, and the examination of known shipwreck sites, they performed an archeological field evaluation of the entire Patuxent River from Solomons Island to Queen Anne's town. The next phase involved a remote sensing of four representative sections of the river to identify whatever submerged cultural resources were found. The final phase focused on four specific

sites and required the removal of limited and representative cultural materials. The sites were St. Leonard's Creek, the port of Nottingham about thirty-six miles north of Solomon's Island, Lyons Creek on the border of Calvert and Anne Arundel Counties, and in the upper Patuxent, a location known today as Green Run Landing. It was an acknowledged objective of the survey to locate and excavate one of the naval vessels belonging to Commodore Joshua Barney's War of 1812 flotilla.

Laboring under difficult conditions involving extremely low underwater visibility, soft sediments, and strong currents, Shomette's teams uncovered many interesting sites, including the known wreck of the schooner *Henrietta Bach*, a three-log canoe at Sawpit Cove, and the fragile remains one of the gunboats belonging to Barney's flotilla that was left behind during Barney's escape northward after he stoutly resisted a stronger British force at St. Leonard's Creek. At Magruder's Landing, an old steamboat stop, some colonial artifacts were turned up in evidence of the active use of that location in earlier times. Near Lyons Creek they found the remains of an intriguing vessel, probably of seventeenth century origin, whose site yielded pipe stems, green bottle glass, parts of guns, and six hundred pounds of cannonballs. Another site yielded up the remnants of a Chesapeake flattie, a nineteenth-century vessel whose remains had not previously been found on the Western Shore. But the best came last as the diving team, after constructing a cofferdam over an unidentified wreck, soon uncovered a War of 1812 gunboat that contained a marvelous find of naval artifacts. Documentary research combined with artifact analysis later determined that the vessel was, in fact, USS *Scorpion*, Barney's flagship.

The result of this energetic work was the revelation among Maryland officials that there was much to be lost if the state did not soon undertake to preserve its submerged cultural heritage. The acquisition of the Jefferson Patterson Archeological Park and the protective policies engendered by the Maryland Historical Trust have undertaken to protect that heritage. Maryland's citizens should be grateful to the elected and appointed officials who created these far-sighted policies.

Tidewater Time Capsule documents what concerned historians and archaeologists can do within the bounds of a specific, limited marine environment. Similar history awaits discovery in Maryland's many other waterways, if only the historians, archaeologists, and funding can be found to do the work. Donald Shomette has provided readers with an excellent account of a multi-year expedition. He is a skilled researcher, writer, and nautical archeologist, as he amply demonstrated in the earlier work *The Hunt for HMS De Braak: Legend and Legacy*. If there is a bit too much ego in *Tidewater Time Capsule*, it is compensated for by Shomette's self-deprecating humor and the genuine accomplishments of Nautical Archeological Associates, Inc. This book is highly recommended for maritime historians, nautical archaeologists, submerged

cultural resource managers, students of the marine sciences, history buffs, and generally those who like to read about Chesapeake Bay, past and present.

WILLIAM S. DUDLEY
Annapolis

St. Vincent de Paul of Baltimore: The Story of a People and Their Home. By Thomas W. Spalding and Kathryn M. Kuranda. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1995. 312 pages. Illustrations, index. $24.95.)

Father John Sinnott Martin was the eleventh pastor of St. Vincent de Paul. He had a reputation for pithy sayings. Many could quote his "A penny for the poor—no more no less." He once met a parishioner on Baltimore's infamous "Block" on Baltimore St. When the parishioner asked Father Martin what he was doing there, the priest replied "This is my parish. The question is, what are you doing here?"

With anecdotes like this in Part One, "The People," Brother Spalding makes the people of St. Vincent, clergy and laity alike, come alive, serving God and the community to the best of their ability. Using parish histories, the sacramental registers, legal documents found in the Sulpician Archives, and the annual parish reports (called "Notitiae," and now filed in the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore), the author weaves a history of the parish. Rising above mere recitation and lists of pastors, parish societies, and the like, he traces the rise, regression, and renaissance of a vibrant inner-city church.

Brother Spalding knows his history. He ties events in world, national, and local history to events in the development of the parish. He describes the events of the May 1840 nominating conventions, and the election and post-election riots in November 1840 and goes on to tell how Dr. Edward Deloughery, a member of the new parish, sustained bodily injury in those riots.

Spalding also has an eye for the droll and humorous. He describes Father John Baptist Gildea, first pastor of St. Vincent's, on one occasion arriving from Harper's Ferry too late for dinner. On another occasion Father Gildea kept two visitors talking too long, with the result that they arrived at the Archbishop's too late for dinner.

Humor aside, the author does not lose sight of the efforts of the people of the parish to fulfill the mission of the church, even if they were not always in total agreement on how to carry out that mission. Spalding discusses the attempts to minister to a changing community, the involvement of some of the clergy with matters of social injustice, civil rights, and the anti-war movement fairly and objectively.

Kathryn Kuranda, in Part Two, "Their Home," discusses the physical fabric of the church. She does more than list dates of constructions, reconstructions, and restoration of the buildings. She shows the relationship between the original design of St. Vincent's and local, national, and world-wide trends in

church design. As the church grew and circumstances required changes in the design of the sanctuary, Kuranda carefully describes how, as the church grew and circumstances required changes, the changes were appropriate for the times and how old elements were retained and blended with new elements.

Kuranda states in her opening chapter that her work involved three tasks: first, to develop a building chronology for the structure, and to determine who built what, for whom, and when; second, to place the building within its historical and architectural context, and third, to analyze the choices in church design made at various times in the church's history. In all three tasks she has succeeded admirably.

She describes such details as how the width of brick could not exceed the average man's grasp, making it possible for masons to lay the bricks with one hand. She points out that framed spaces between the first-floor joists and the floor make it likely that heating ducts ran from a large brick flue which connected the basement to the first floor. For those not well versed in architectural terminology she has included a useful glossary.

The authors are well qualified to write on church history. Thomas W. Spalding, CFX, Ph.D., teaches history at Spalding University in Louisville, Kentucky. He is the author of *Martin John Spalding: American Churchman* (1971), and *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1989* (1989). Kathryn M. Kuranda, M. Arch. Hist., is vice-president of architectural services at R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc. in Frederick, and directs architectural history and history programs. Martha M. William, M.A., M.Ed., historic site specialist, and Augustine J. Fahey, B.A., graphics coordinator, also contributed to the book.

The book is an excellent example of what a parish history ought to be. The authors have blended demographics, personalities, financial statistics, parish institutions, architectural features, local and national events, and human interest stories in a clear and interesting text. Informative maps and graphs increase the value of the book, which all in all is a worthy addition to church and local history.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall

Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake. By James Horn. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1994. 476 pages. Illustrations, tables, notes, index. $55.)

James Horn has provided everyone interested in the early history of Maryland and Virginia with an important new book on Chesapeake society in the seventeenth century. Believing that historians of early America have underrated the importance of English settlers' attitudes and values in shaping Eng-

lish societies in the New World, Horn has set out to prove the importance of continuity, as well as change, in the settlement of Maryland and Virginia.

Central to Horn's thesis is the understanding of seventeenth-century Chesapeake societies as *immigrant* societies. Immigration averaged about 8,000 to 9,000 people per decade in the 1630s and 1640s and jumped to 16,000 to 20,000 per decade from 1650 to 1680. Englishmen and women arriving in the tidewater brought with them their own local cultures as well as broader regional identities. The settlers' origins affected how they adapted to their new home and influenced the kind of English communities they would create. "Immigrant experience should be seen as a whole, embracing English origins and heritage as well as responses to the conditions in America. One without the other makes little sense" (viii).

To discover to what extent the colonists' English background affected their adjustment to the New World, Horn compares local communities in England, Maryland, and Virginia. His English models are central Kent and the Vale of Berkeley in Gloucestershire. Both areas had important connections with the Chesapeake as prime recruiting grounds for emigrants. For the New World, he has chosen Lower Norfolk and Lancaster counties in Virginia and St. Mary's County in Maryland.

Adapting to a New World is divided into three sections. The first part examines the English origins of settlers, beginning with an overview of the different types of people who emigrated, where they came from, and the reasons they chose to leave England. Then a more detailed picture of emigration focuses specifically on the Vale of Berkeley and central Kent. The second part looks at settlement in the Chesapeake, again beginning with a general description of the topic and then examining the process in more detail through the study of the model Virginia and Maryland counties. The final section compares various aspects of English society in the Chesapeake with English society in England. This portion looks at family, kin and community, working lives, the domestic environment, order and disorder, and religion and popular belief. There are figures and tables throughout the book to support the author's major points as well as several maps to orient the reader.

Horn's primary purpose is to focus on the English immigrant during what can be considered a peculiarly English phase of settlement from 1607 to the 1690s. He acknowledges, however, the important contributions of other cultures in creating a new society. The colonists' reaction to the native peoples they encountered and the slaves they imported to labor in their fields obviously were significant factors in their adaptation to the New World. "Far removed from the familiar surroundings of their native societies, settlers began to reconstruct a Chesapeake version of English local society that accommodated the diversity of their provincial origins and recognized the presence of a number of non-English cultures" (187).

Historians have tended to treat the colonies as "incipient independencies" (52) rather than looking at the close connections those colonies maintained with England. Horn reminds us that the colonies were very much overseas provinces of England, closely bound to the mother country by political, economic, social, and cultural ties. Immigration to Maryland and Virginia was part of a larger movement of English people from farmstead or hamlet to town to cities and ports like London and Bristol, and further afield to Ireland, the West Indies, and the colonies on the American mainland.

Adapting to a New World is a perceptive, well-written, and thought-provoking study. Anyone with a serious interest in early American history should consider adding *Adapting to a New World* to his or her library.

JENNIFER BRYAN
Maryland Historical Society

N.B. This book was co-winner of the Maryland Historical Society's biennial book prize, awarded in June 1995.—ED.

Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe, 1784-1789. By George Green Shackelford (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. 219 pages. Notes and index. $34.95.)

Americans never tire of Thomas Jefferson. He is perhaps our most studied founder. Herald of natural rights and a slaveholder, aristocratic champion of a society of yeomen, European traveller and Virginia planter, he was caught in the portal between the premodern world of his youth and the modern world which he helped somewhat unwittingly to create. In Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe, 1784–1789, George Green Shackelford adds to the numerous studies of our third president's life by examining Jefferson's tours of Europe and in so doing suggests something of Jefferson's broad interests and paradoxical nature.

Shackelford's purpose in writing *Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe, 1784–1789* was to "understand how Jefferson completed his evolution from talented provincial to traveled sophisticate" (4). Using Jefferson's accounts and correspondence as the source base, this "cultural rather than political study" (1) succeeds in detailing Jefferson's travels but fails to completely explain how these travels changed the man.

The book is organized into twelve chapters with an epilogue. Each chapter deals with a different region that Jefferson visited between 1784 and 1789. While this organizational structure allows Professor Shackelford to achieve a remarkable level of detail in describing Jefferson's journeys, the structure inhibits analysis of how these travels were changing the Virginian's world view. We get no real sense of how the different regions of Europe affected Jefferson's

intellectual development. Even Shackelford's discussion of Jefferson's well-known fascination with the Roman ruins in Nimes is strangely unsatisfactory.

Part of the problem with the study is that Shackelford tries to separate culture from politics in an age when that boundary was unfixed. Jefferson's fascination with European culture grew from his immersion in the Enlightenment, and Jefferson's immersion in the Enlightenment grew from his identity as a republican in a revolutionary world. Indeed, his study of the Roman ruins at Nimes and his determination to import classical architecture to the new world was part of Jefferson's larger design to create a republican citizenry in the new United States. Certainly, his fascination with different aspects of European society and culture were in part purely intellectual, but by the 1780s the needs—material, moral, political, spiritual, and cultural—of the new republic he had helped to create were foremost in his mind. Jefferson's personal transformation was inseparable from the transformation of the United States from a provincial backwater to a revolutionary new society. Professor Shackelford does not situate Jefferson well into this broader context, and because of this his study falters.

Whatever its deficiencies in conceptualization, this work has a number of virtues. Professor Shackelford modestly situates the study in terms of the intellectual cottage industry which is Thomas Jefferson's career; he knows that he is portraying only one aspect of a long and complex life that has been frequently studied. *Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe* is a model of clear, unpretentious historical writing based on primary sources. And in suggesting that Jefferson was more of an urbanite than a rustic, Shackelford has made a simple but important observation that future scholars of Jefferson might profitably build on. Jefferson was indeed an urban man, but one who saw America's future in the countryside. This paradox is worth further examination toward explanation of how the currents of the Enlightenment shaped Jefferson's intellectual development.

So, in the end, this book adds to our knowledge of Jefferson's remarkable intellectual development. Jefferson's life was so rich, his intellect so far reaching, that it is the rare study which can capture that character in its complexity, and Professor Shackelford's study rightly makes no pretensions of doing so. Instead, it chronicles for us, in a clear and straightforward fashion, the journeys of one of our founders in Europe during a period of intellectual exploration and reflection.

BRENDAN MCCONVILLE
Binghamton University (S.U.N.Y.)

Capital Elites: High Society in Washington, D.C., After the Civil War. By Kathryn Allamong Jacob. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995. 328 pages. Bibliography, notes, index. $35.)

This somewhat misleadingly titled book examines the first century of high society in the nation's capital, focusing on three phases in the evolution of its early elite. In the antebellum era, a coalition of southern officeholders and genteel residents—mostly Marylanders and Virginians—dominated Washington society. During the Civil War, northern and western Republicans supplanted these Confederate partisans, creating a new official elite whose influence peaked in the postwar years only to plummet amid the scandals of the second Grant administration. By the 1880s, wealthy newcomers who were not politicians became Washington's social leaders, sharing power with official elites, who gradually recouped a portion of their former social authority.

Through all three phases, Kathryn Allamong Jacob argues, Washington's social scene was distinctive among American cities. A relatively new community lacking an entrenched indigenous elite, Washington's high society was peculiar in its transience and openness to newcomers. Wealth and official status, not pedigree, were the avenues of social opportunity in Washington, which came to boast an elite whose origins and outlook were uniquely national.

Jacob's narrative stresses the changing composition of this elite, focusing on the people, not the rituals, of Washington's high society. Full of facts—some of them fascinating—about members of the capital elite, this book includes surprisingly little analysis of the organization and purpose of the functions they attended. Jacob observes, for instance, that protocol governed seating at state dinners, replicating the capital's political hierarchy. Did seating arrangements and social interactions at other gatherings reflect different values and distinctions? Did an alternate system of etiquette, conversely, foster solidarity within the elite, accentuating the social distance between them and their presumed inferiors?

More important still, what were the objectives of these increasingly ostentatious social rituals, and whom was their intended audience? Elitists impressed each other with their mansions and lavish displays, but why did society reporters flock to postbellum Washington to describe its social life to readers across America? Jacob repeatedly alludes to the public's supposed fascination with Washington society and, citing the celebratory accounts of sympathetic reporters and participants, implies that opulence conferred prestige in the eyes of most observers. Class, religious, or other considerations must have shaped popular perceptions of elite social rituals, but Jacob merely describes those activities from the perspective of the conspicuous consumers who staged them. Accordingly, she characterizes the 1880s as "undistinguished years for official society" (115), despite widespread approval of the simplicity of the Rutherford

B. Hayes White House and of Frances Folsom Cleveland's White House receptions for working women.

Jacob rightly stresses the centrality of women in Washington society, but she does not ponder the extent to which gender both justified and constrained their public activities. The mercurial careers of several prominent hostesses suggest that elite Washingtonians adhered to deeply gendered standards of propriety that especially penalized women who were overtly ambitious and independent-minded. Those who successfully wielded political leverage appear to have done so chiefly by manipulating their guest lists and influencing their husbands. At a time when middle-class women were espousing their own political causes, did female elites use their influence to further political agendas distinct from those of their husbands? If so, how did membership in high society facilitate or limit their political activities and shape their political consciousness?

Capital Elites raises more questions than it answers about Washington's high society, though it provides an intriguing new perspective on the development of a commercialized national culture in the United States after the Civil War. Nicely illustrated and peppered with engaging anecdotes and vignettes, Jacob's story will be of interest primarily to non-specialists curious about the social exploits of the rich and famous in Gilded Age America.

CYNTHIA A. KIERNER
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

The Irony of Southern Religion. By John B. Boles. (The Rockwell Lecture Series, Vol. 5. New York: Peter Lang, Inc., 1994. 108 pages. Bibliography. $31.95 paper.)

John B. Boles, managing editor of the *Journal of Southern History* and Cline Professor of History at Rice University, originally prepared this manuscript for delivery as the 1993 Rockwell Lectures at Rice. Barely a hundred pages in length. it is proof that good things sometimes come in small packages.

This is a succinct, bold, interpretive, mature work of scholarship. Its user--friendly prose makes it as accessible to general readers as to specialists. Specialists. however, will recognize that the book draws liberally on the best work about the region, including the author's own, and will appreciate how tightly he has organized this material around the unanticipated or ironic twists and turns that have marked the course of southern religion, an existential adventure full of surprises where the constant rule has been to expect the unexpected.

According to the author, evangelical Protestantism, driven by Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian activists, began as a dissenting minority movement that emphasized personal salvation, was critical of slavery, and decried the church-state corporatism of the Church of England. The revolution against England diminished the appeal of Anglicanism, however, and evangelicals, shedding their opposition to slavery, quickly and effectively established a

network of churches. These churches, nourished by revivalism, captured the hearts and minds of southerners and thus helped to lay the foundation of a distinctly southern culture.

Although evangelicals adapted and thrived in the early nineteenth-century South, they grew increasingly alarmed by the strident abolitionist attacks of some prominent northern Christians. They were equally disturbed by what they perceived as the materialistic, polyglot culture of the urbanizing, industrializing northern states. Hence, in the decades immediately preceding the Civil War, they severed their organizational ties with northern Christians, abandoned their opposition to church-state alliances, and joined wholeheartedly in the defense of the South, linking the survival of their faith to the preservation of their culture. Southern Protestants formed the rank-and-file of the Confederacy and dominated its leadership. Thus, ironically, a religious movement was transformed from dissenting to defending, from minority to majority from saving souls to saving the South. A further irony, as Boles notes, was that most enslaved African-Americans also subscribed to the same brand of evangelicalism as those who held them in bondage, albeit with one crucial modification.

All of this and more the author covers in three insightful chapters, one each on white and black evangelicalism in the pre–Civil War period and a third on southern Protestantism during the Confederacy. A brief but provocative epilogue segues to the modern South of Billy Graham and Martin Luther King Jr. The volume concludes with a useful survey of suggested readings.

The Irony of Southern Religion combines impressive chronological reach with penetrating analysis. Throughout, Boles engages in historiographic jousting *con brio*—with the confidence of a man betting a good hand. For instance, in the still-lively scholarly debate about the very existence of the South and its alleged life-span, Boles comes down squarely in favor of an identifiable South long unified by the religious culture of its inhabitants. His book, of course, will not settle this debate. Some readers no doubt will still argue that the Old South was a largely ex post facto romantic invention of never-say-die Confederates who ignored intraregional variations of geography, economics, and politics. But Boles has now made the task of these nay-sayers a quantum more difficult, and we can be sure that W. J. Cash, whatever his current address, is among those cheering his run.

Other readers, with a finer nit to pick, may quibble about the author's neat juxtaposition of rigid, ritualistic Anglicanism with more embracing evangelical Protestantism. These readers might find his juxtaposition a trifle too neat, one that creates a dualistic straw-horse while conveniently obliterating a third group of southern Christians—those who chose not to compromise principle for the safety and satisfaction of popularity and power. From early Quakers to Nat Turner, Rosa Parks, and Jesse Jackson, these southerners, though quantitatively few, may have had an important qualitative impact on the shape and substance of southern society. Their ideological and religious commitments

kept issues alive and community lines consciously drawn which might otherwise have lain dormant or remained fuzzy. Yet by being courageously inspired to oppose, these witnessing southerners unintentionally may have rallied the forces and deepened the resolve of their opponents who supported slavery, the Confederacy, the Ku Klux Klan, and the White Citizens Councils. In building unity and sustaining a cause, after all, it is more than convenient to have an enemy. Had Boles chosen a less hegemonic and more contrarian, dialectical analysis, some readers might conclude that he could only have strengthened his already formidable case for the ironic complexities of southern religion.

Diligent factual analysis is the foundation of good history and good history enables knowledgeable readers to evaluate the soundness of imaginative, speculative theories. Additional rewards await readers of this book who are familiar with the now classic works of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, especially the latter's description of the transformation of sects into denominations. The full value of *The Irony of Southern History* can be measured not only by what it adds to our historical knowledge but also to what it contributes to the larger search for understanding.

HOWARD BEETH
Texas Southern University

Lincoln and Black Freedom: A Study in Presidential Leadership. By LaWanda Cox. Foreword by James M. McPherson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. 272 pages. Bibliography, index. $14.95.)

The Fortunate Heirs of Freedom: Abolition and Republican Thought. By Daniel J. McInerney. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994. 244 pages. Notes, essay on sources, index. $ 37.50.)

When the *Maryland Historical Magazine* invited me to review these books, I thought they were an unlikely pair. Daniel McInerney examines republican ideology as an abolitionist strategy. LaWanda Cox, on the other hand, undertakes a revision of the presidency of Abraham Lincoln and his approach to black freedom. Beside the unity that comes from their examinations of emancipation theory, time and ideology separate their subjects—at least at first blush. But *The Fortunate Heirs of Freedom* and *Lincoln and Black Freedom* offer assessments of two approaches to black liberation during American slavery. Professor McInerney, whose subject predates the war years, presents a cadre of impatient reformers who invoked republican theory from the American Revolution to defend immediate abolition. Although Professor Cox defends Lincoln as the "Great Emancipator," the president and his approach to black freedom seems dwarfed by his republican predecessors.

McInerney's work, published in 1994, adds perspective to Cox's treatise, first issued in 1981. The perspective of time notwithstanding, Professor Cox,

in this 1994 edition, defends the initial thesis: that Lincoln, a pragmatist, was a catalyst for black freedom. Cox is not alone. In the foreword to this edition, James M. McPherson, a scholar of the first degree, insists on the plausibility of the initial interpretation. McPherson distills the reservations of scholars who initially questioned Cox's conclusion. Lincoln's arguments in debate, correspondence, and speeches influenced such scholars as Vincent Harding, who rejected the president as the liberator of black slaves. There is only one explanation for this divergence of opinion among scholars so skilled in the craft. Professor Cox's question may be flawed. Cox endeavors to show that Lincoln was a catalyst for black freedom and that the Civil War enabled him to exercise a personal conviction that slavery should be abolished. Such an approach suggests an either/or analysis: that Lincoln either freed the slaves or was an impediment to their emancipation. This approach is unreasonable. For whatever reason, Lincoln halted when confronted in office with the black liberation issue. Many of his colleagues, as Daniel McInerney suggests, held the conviction that the heritage of the republic was antislavery. Lincoln did not share their conviction, and he remained a gradualist until the Civil War made slavery a part of the national emergency.

Professor McInerney's work, therefore, now makes possible a fresh scholarly evaluation of Lincoln and emancipation theory. McInerney explains that the republican idea was a catalyst for reform during the American Revolution. Republicanism, an opposition ideology, provided the theoretical framework to combat the tyranny of government. Republicans used the ideology to undermine the British monarchy and to root out corruption in political administration. Republicans honored liberty and virtue. Republicans were the worthy; centralists, or monarchists, were the licentious. But public men blundered after the Revolution, allowing slavery to stain the garment of the republic. Republican abolitionists arose to chastise slaveholders and to remind the nation of its political heritage.

McInerney ably illustrates the growth of the republican reform movement, aimed at doing away with slavery. Republican zealots argued that slavery had made a "sham" (23) of the true American heritage. Hence, abolitionists had only one alternative; to call for the abolition of slavery. And McInerney shows how republican abolitionists called forth the doctrine that had produced American freedom, how black abolitionists joined the crusade, and how women, ministers, and educators called for ending slavery before the Civil War. For example, James McCune Smith of New York blamed educators for failing to teach the republican policy, which frowned on servitude. Sarah Grimke, a Quaker-abolitionist, praised antislavery advocates for upholding "the holy principles of faith" (61). "In asserting their commitment to republicanism," McInerney writes, "abolitionists emphasized the struggle against mastery, the links between individual character and constitutional health, and the need for scrutiny over personal and national conduct" (61). Hence, the

abolition movement was a crusade undergirded by the theoretical framework of republicanism.

So, the movement to abolish slavery had created, as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. would have put it, "creative tension" by the time of Lincoln's presidency. Was Lincoln a catalyst for black freedom? No. Certainly Lincoln was not an enemy of black liberation; but no one is arguing that point. The burden of proof is on Professor Cox, whose evidence is not convincing. For example, in chapter 1 Cox admits that President Lincoln evolved in his approach to slavery. "Indeed, there is something breathtaking in his advance from prewar advocacy of restricting slavery . . . for slavery's total, immediate, uncompensated destruction by constitutional amendment" (6). What produced his "progression"? It seems unreasonable to argue that the rhetoric of abolitionists, the influence of foreign powers, and the military demands of the war did not drag Lincoln into reexamining the status of black Americans and the aims of the war. Once he discovered that these factors were compatible, Lincoln moved more confidently toward general emancipation. But, born in early nineteenth-century America, Lincoln was not ahead of his time. Indeed, he trailed many of his republican colleagues, who decades earlier identified slavery as an enemy of the republican heritage of the United States.

STEPHEN MIDDLETON
North Carolina State University

America in European Consciousness 1493–1750. Edited by Karen Ordahl Kupperman. (Institute of Early American History and Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. 441 pages. Conference program, index. $39.95, cloth; $19.95, paper.)

Commemorations of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage to the Western Hemisphere ended several years ago, and with them subsided the loudest voices and debates about the proper interpretation of that seminal event. The scholarly harvest of that noteworthy anniversary continues to ripen, however, with quieter, less impassioned, and more informative voices and debates on the impact of the European "discovery" of the New World. The seeds of the scholarly fruit contained in this volume were planted with calls to participate in a 1991 conference sponsored by the John Carter Brown Library. Twelve of the original twenty-five papers have been revised and published here.

The conference and ensuing volume focused upon the question of America's influence on European thought and culture, with the emphasis on intellectual changes rather than the material impact on diet, the economy, population movements, or other such topics more extensively chronicled elsewhere. The library's important role in supporting *European Americana* (6 vols.; New York, 1980–94), a guide to European publications between 1493

and 1750 with references to America, made that respected institution a natural host for this conference, because the participants relied heavily on this impressive compilation which more than doubled the previous number of relevant titles. A recurring theme of these new essays is the extraordinary extent to which European intellectuals approached the New World more "to elucidate European questions" (19) than to understand America on its own terms. Not until about the middle of the eighteenth century did a paradigmatic shift in understanding occur just as an explosion of things "American" burst upon the European consciousness through events leading to the American Revolution.

Editor Karen Ordahl Kupperman assigned the essays into four sections. In Part I, entitled "America and the Historical Imagination," Peter Burke and David Armitage develop persuasively the argument that contemporary historians were exceedingly self-referential in their writings. "America long remained on the margin of world history, as viewed by Europeans" (36) Burke writes. Armitage convincingly underscores this point with his review of British historians from Richard Hakluyt to William Robertson, the late eighteenth-century scholar who finally moved America into the mainstream of human history.

If contemporary historians were slow to comprehend the import of Columbus's voyages and subsequent contact with America, the popular imagination was no more insightful and usually much less accurate. Despite a fascination with the New World, the public received its information distorted by efforts to define America in familiar Old World terms. In Part II, "America Reflected in Europe," Sabine MacCormack is particularly successful in illustrating these limitations of understanding. Seventeenth-century depictions of the Incan capital of Cuzco graphically show the artists' "reformulation" of written descriptions to suit popular expectations. MacCormack also attends to the preoccupation with religious practices of the New World, while Roland Greene analyzes the Petrarchan mode of literary texts and David Quint dissects Montaigne's *Des cannibales* (1580) as a commentary more on France than on American natives.

Part III, "America and European Aspirations," addresses the hopes placed on the New World, most particularly as an opportunity to evangelize just as European Christendom was itself breaking apart. John Headley approaches this missionary dream through a study of Tommaso Campanella, while Luca Codignola examines the Catholic Church more broadly and comparatively. Both authors stress the Eurocentrism of these religious endeavors. Broader aspirations than just religious impulses led the English to see in the beehive the most appropriate metaphor for developing in America their vision of a secure and cooperative but differentiated society. Kupperman convincingly mines a rich lode of literary references in "The Beehive as a Model for Colonial Design."

Finally, in Part IV, "America and the Scholarly Impulse," attention turns to other intellectuals and observers attempting to make sense of the materials brought back across the Atlantic. New natural specimens posed a major chal-

lenge, as Europeans confronted a forty-fold increase in botanical items in just a century and a half. Henry Lowood, studying the overwhelmed collectors, explores why the assimilation of this new information proceeded very slowly: "the European discovery of America was for natural history, as indeed for other scholarly subjects of the sixteenth century, at most a marginal event" (317). Christian Feest, investigating American Indian artifacts and where and how they were collected and interpreted, relates a similar story. Both authors describe an often treacherous journey for getting manuscripts into print or materials on display, a path that all too frequently introduced significant errors, separated items from their original context and slowed substantially the process of assimilation. With a more positive assessment, Richard Simmons concludes from a close reading of British books that a greater awareness and understanding made its way to the public than his colleagues have acknowledged.

In the book's last essay, J. H. Elliott, whose earlier work inspired many of this younger generation of scholars, revisits the historiographical developments of the past two decades. He notes the division that still exists among the contributors to this volume and other historians between the maximalists and the minimalists, those who claim much or little impact on European consciousness. Perhaps the under-appreciated effect of the discovery of America, he concludes, "was the stimulus it gave to the rediscovery of Europe" (404), that for the first time Europe was set in a truly comparative context.

Readers of this volume will also be maximalists or minimalists, to reinterpret Elliott's terms. The most devoted students of this subject will welcome all the essays with their various topics and methodologies. Most general readers, however, will embrace the contents more selectively, attracted perhaps by the exercises in the traditional history of ideas, or by the articles on popular culture, or perhaps by those on material artifacts beyond the realm of print, but they will not be as much interested in or affected by the other contributions. The extensive footnotes, an introductory essay by Kupperman, and Elliott's concluding observations will all helpfully steer readers to more sources on the various topics. The debate is still lively on the degree and nature of America's impact on European consciousness in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the preponderance of essays here argue for the minimalist position, this book should promote a continuing conversation and an extended commemoration of Columbus's voyage.

DAVID W. JORDAN
Austin College

Religion in a Revolutionary Age. Perspectives on the American Revolution Series. Edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994. 350 pages. Notes, illustrations, index. $39.95.)

Until 1993, the United States Capitol Historical Society annually assembled a number of luminaries to present new research on the American Revolution. Those not attending the conference can still benefit from it, for the best papers continue to appear in a series of volumes entitled "Perspectives on the American Revolution." *Religion in a Revolutionary Age* is the tenth such volume produced under the capable direction of Peter Albert and Ronald Hoffman. Its contents live up to the usual high standards of the series.

Perhaps the best feature of this volume (and the series as a whole) is that it presents in compressed form a significant portion of the best recent literature on this subject, so much so that it works quite well as an anthology. For example, essays in *Religion in a Revolutionary Age* contain much of the essence of John Butler's *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (1990), Patricia Bonomi's *Under to Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society. and Politics in Colonial America* (1986), and Ronald Schultz's *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (1993). It is remarkable that Hoffman and Albert were able to collect in one volume much of the essence of such a distinguished shelf-full of books.

Several essays stand out from the rest. Ruth Bloch's attempt at synthesizing the seemingly contradictory communitarian and individualistic impulses of revolutionary ideology goes well beyond earlier attempts at solving this riddle, for she focuses on evangelical discourse and popular sentimental literature as well as public politics. Evangelicals and novelists, she concludes, promoted individualistic self-determination and resistance to clerical and paternal authority, but as alternatives they offered a choice between several highly communal identities based on family or religious affiliations. Bloch's powerful thesis is simultaneously broad in its implications and tightly integrative of a vast historical literature.

Patricia Bonomi's and Ronald Schultz's essays also stand out. Both are highly evocative and very much rooted in the everyday lives of ordinary people: Schultz brings to life the mental worlds of Philadelphia artisans in the early republic, focusing on the interplay between religion and "the workingmen's quest for economic and social justice" (155), while Bonomi shows a fine sensitivity to the ways in which the massive and highly diverse non-English immigrations of the eighteenth century shaped North American life—religious and otherwise—during the revolutionary era.

Unfortunately, approximately half of this volume is dedicated to political events. Politics do matter; try as one might to ignore or avoid politicians, their decisions have important consequences for all of society, and consequently historians need to acknowledge that fact. Still, we are presented in this volume

with too much of a good thing—high politics—and not enough of a better thing: sensitive analyses of the often very foreign spiritual worlds of the people of revolutionary America. It is symptomatic of this problem that the longest essay, Miles Bradbury's "Structures of Nationalism," focuses on church governance rather than religious experience.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that *Religion in a Revolutionary Age* is a high-powered volume that encapsulates much of what is currently at the forefront of historical scholarship. As a conference series the United States Capitol Historical Society has always attempted to push forward new and exciting scholarship, and this latest volume is proof of their success in this endeavor.

JIM RICE
Central Washington University

Books in Brief

The History of Charles County, Maryland was first published in 1958. Facsimile reprints of this work are now available through Heritage Books. Authors Margaret Brown Klapthor and Paul Dennis Brown highlight the roles that men from Charles County have played in Maryland's history from the Revolutionary War to the early twentieth century. Photographs, maps, and a transcription of the 1790 census of Charles County's residents accompany the text.

Heritage Books, Inc., $16.00

The American Moment Series presents *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* by Walter Licht. While keeping the human experience at the center of the story, the author explains how industrialization was first a product and later an agent of change in the development of the United States as an international industrial power.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, $13.95

George C. Seward first published *Seward and Related Families* in 1987. Since then, further research has allowed him to learn more about his genealogy and to correct errors found in the first edition. This year, a second edition of this highly personalized history of the author's family was published. Photographs, an appendix dedicated to the author's wife, and information about the ancestors of William H. Seward (who arranged for the purchase of Alaska) are readily available. Related families include the Bradleys, Corbells, Days, Eleys, Hawes, Kloennes, McKays, Phillips, Rughs, and the Swegers.

George C. Seward, $28.50

In *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America,* author Peter Mancall explores the liquor trade in seventeenth-century America and how Native Americans became involved with colonists in this extension of transatlantic commerce. Mancall focuses on how alcohol became part of a search for new strategies of survival in a world drastically altered by European colonization.

Cornell University Press, $29.95

Larry S. Chowning knows life on the Chesapeake Bay from experience. His latest book, *Chesapeake Legacy: Tools and Traditions,* is a second volume that follows *Harvesting the Chesapeake: Tools and Traditions.* The bay is brought to life through the stories of those whose lives are shaped by these waters. Photographs, drawings, recipes, and even directions for making rakes and tongs accompany the text.

Tidewater Publishers, $29.95

Before 1841, divorce in Maryland was available only through a petition to the House of Delegates of the Lower Assembly, putting those seeking divorce at the mercy of political vicissitudes. *Private Acts in Public Places* explains how divorce moved from legislative to judicial control. Author Richard H. Chused examines over one thousand divorce petitions in Maryland to discover how the structure of government altered the private lives of its citizens.

University of Pennsylvania Press, $32.95

When the *President Warfield* was built in 1928, her only job was to transport passengers between Norfolk and Baltimore. This Old Bay Line steamboat would later play a celebrated role as a vessel of the Jewish military underground, collecting over four thousand Jewish survivors of World War II in a futile attempt to take them to Palestine. David C. Holly's "biography" of this vessel, *Exodus 1947,* was first published in 1969. In a revised edition, the author provides details on a 1994 reenactment of this historic voyage to Israel. The history of the steamboat's whistle, which once sat on the top of the Maryland Metals building in Hagerstown, is also included.

Naval Institute Press, $29.95

Majestic in His Wrath: A Pictorial Life of Frederick Douglass grows out of a Smithsonian exhibition commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the death of this famous Marylander. Using photographs, documents, prints, and other memorabilia, author Frederick S. Voss leads the reader through the life of this inspiring African American leader. Images of prominent contemporaries such as Sojourner Truth and William Lloyd Garrison are also included.

Smithsonian Institution Press, $14.95

In *Spaceflight Revolution: NASA Langley Research Center From Sputnik to Apollo,* author James R. Hansen analyzes the changes that have taken place at this Virginia research center since the 1957 flight of the Sputnik I. This publication is part of a series of histories presently underway by the NASA History Office, and is helpful for readers seeking to understand the development of aerospace technology in the United States.

NASA, $30.00

Lest We Forget: A Guide to Civil War Monuments in Maryland is a comprehensive list of monuments dedicated to the individuals, groups, and events surrounding the Civil War in this state. Author Susan Cooke Soderberg presents histories of the monuments and those responsible for them, as well as commentary upon the messages that these "cultural signposts" offer to us about Maryland's past. The book is divided into a series of tours that cover Civil War monuments in different areas of the state.

White Mane Publishing Company, Inc., $29.95

J.M.P.

In the Mail

I found the Spring [1995] issue of *MdHM* both stimulating and rewarding. Among its excellent articles Professor Lee's excerpt from *The Price of Nationhood* was so interesting that I went immediately to my University of Vermont library to check out the entire book.

It surprises me that you did not make note, in your editorial comment, of the similarity of technique between this book and George H. Callcott's *Maryland and America, 1940–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985). I recognize that Callcott is dealing with modern times, while Lee takes us back to the eighteenth century; but the use of a smaller territory to serve as a microcosm for a larger unit is very intriguing in both books.

My only surprise in the Lee book was to find no Bernard Bailyn in the bibliography. It seems difficult to think of touching upon the American Revolution, in any way, without depending on Bailyn.

I am very glad indeed that you are encouraging your contributors to "rediscover the art of narrative." On this point let me invite your attention to the work of Dr. Susie M. Ames in her study of "Federal Policy toward the Eastern Shore of Virginia" in *The Virginia Magazine* of October 1961. I secured a reprint of this essay a few years ago during a visit to Onancock VA. Not only the grace of the author's writing but also the significance of what she has to say about the Union strategy in the Eastern Shore of Virginia seem to me to be well worth reconsideration.

In fact, I would welcome an article dealing with Generals Dix and Smallwood on the Eastern Shore, and Anna Ella Carroll in Baltimore—all effectively striving to keep Maryland in the Union. I recognize that Anna is looked upon with skepticism as the person who did or did not win the Civil War, but I think that far too little attention has been paid to her as an able publicist for President Lincoln in his early years as president. If I were not eighty-two, I would tackle her rehabilitation myself.

Betty Bandel
South Burlington, VT

I enjoyed the article "Peale's Pistols: An Attribution to Raphaelle" by Phoebe Lloyd in the Spring [1995] issue of *MdHM*. However, I must comment on the erroneous use of the term dueling pistol to describe the pistols in the painting. The pistols are not dueling pistols but are "turn-off barrel" pistols, as they were known in the eighteenth century. These pistols are fitted with a detachable barrel to facilitate loading. Once the pistols are correctly identified, there will be no need to look for a Goldsborough duel.

The modern term for these weapons is screw barrel, which describes any weapon with a barrel that unscrews from the powder chamber for loading. A

person loaded such a pistol by unscrewing the barrel from the chamber. He then placed powder in the chamber and a round lead ball on the chamber. The barrel was then screwed back onto the chamber. The advantage to this type of construction was that the ball tightly fit the barrel, which increased the accuracy and energy of the bullet. The obvious disadvantage was that they were slow to load. The pistols are further described by the term "box lock" as the pistol is constructed with the cock in the center of the action.

The size of the pistols classifies them as either pocket or traveling pistols. Based on the proportions in the painting, I feel they are the larger traveling pistols. Their basic use was, as the name implies, for the protection of a traveler against robbers. The complete description for the pistols depicted in the painting is English silver-mounted flintlock, screw barrel, box lock, traveling pistols dating to 1770–1780. For an excellent study of English pistols of this type, see Norman Dixon, *Georgian Pistols, The Art and Craft of the Flintlock Pistol, 1715–1840* (York: George Shumway, Publisher), 101–130. In no way can they be mistaken for eighteenth-century dueling pistols. While these traveling pistols could have been used for dueling, it would not have been according to the prevailing social practice. This would have been particularly true for a prominent family such as the Goldsboroughs.

The dueling pistol, during this period, was an entirely different weapon from these traveling pistols. Dueling pistols feature a full stock, octagonal dueling barrel with sights, and larger proportions over all than traveling pistols. Dueling pistols and the customs associated with dueling are well described in John A. Atkinson, *Duelling Pistols* (London: Cassell, 1964), 1–50. The dueling pistol was a very specialized weapon and no proper gentleman of the eighteenth century would have used traveling pistols for a duel. The location of the cock in the center of the action, lack of sights, speed of the trigger action, and lack of natural feel to speedily point the pistol are all features that would have precluded the use of traveling pistols in a duel.

Based on the evidence, they could simply be Peale's own pistols that he carried with him on his travels. The pistols in the painting may have nothing at all to do with the Goldsborough family. In fact, Ms. Lloyd says the painting was sometimes called "Mr. Peale's pistols." There is an excellent chance that this traditional name is correct and they are exactly that, Mr. Peale's pistols.

It would be interesting to determine if there is any reference to pistols in Raphaelle Peale documentation. Unfortunately, most contemporary wills or letters contain only a simple reference to pistols without any further descriptor to differentiate various types. Perhaps there is a reference to Raphaelle Peale carrying a pair of pistols on his travels.

Ed Flanigan
Thurmont MD

Francis Froelicher Jr.'s article "The Beginnings of Park School" [Spring 1995] with the lengthy quotation from his grandfather, Hans Froelicher, generated renewed interest among our students in the history of the school published for Park School's seventy-fifth anniversary in 1988. (Generations are short in the lives of school children: seven years ago the present seniors were in fifth grade. For them that publication appeared eons ago!) So, for reasons of internal education as well as that of the general population, we are grateful to him and *MdHM* for publishing Professor Froelicher's statement in its entirety.

As a believer in the value of historical knowledge, I think there are two vital lessons contained in Froelicher's text: the pernicious reality of anti-Semitism, as later history tragically confirmed, and the salutary influence of progressive theories about education. Froelicher's assertion in 1925 that "should the school go out of existence today, it has had its influence for good" still applies, but would not be easily acceded to today. Although fortunately we are now not alone in meeting Park's founders' vision of an independent school with both Jewish and Gentile students, educators at many other schools are now adopting Park's views of educational theory and practice. There is little doubt that Professor Froelicher was a remarkable visionary.

Thank you for your respectful treatment of Professor Froelicher's statement about Park School.

Jean Thompson Sharpless
The Park School
Brooklandville MD

Many members and potential members of the Maryland Historical Society may actually like President Bush, William Bennett, and Lynne V. Cheney, all of whom you ridiculed in your "Don't Know Much About Hist-o-ree . . ." editorial [Summer 1995]. Many may also think that the likes of G. Gordon Liddy, Rush Limbaugh, or even self-styled militiamen encourage "honest debate" as opposed to only politically correct speech. Many may even have the radical idea that professional educators and professional historians have (as to the former recently and the latter since the beginning of time) been so political that one cannot rely on public education or history as written.

I suspect that the goals of the Maryland Historical Society would best be served by seeking support from conservatives and liberals alike. In your role as spokesman, you would be advised to avoid picking sides in political matters. Why risk it? Particularly for so-called "distinguished history scholars, teachers, and educators."

Steven T. Cain
Upper Marlboro MD

As a relatively new member of the Maryland Historical Society, I was extremely distressed to read of your support for the *National Standards for United States History* in the latest edition of *MdHM* [Summer 1995].

As a former prep school history teacher, as well as a member of several hereditary societies, from what I read, the *Standards* are a real distortion of the true facts about American history, and I hope they will never be approved by anyone at any time.

Enclosed are copies of articles from the Society of Colonial Wars *Gazette* and the Sons of the American Revolution magazine. I completely agree with the sentiments expressed in these articles.

The last sentence in your article says, "It's not too late to help the next generation think more clearly than ours." I think it is rather a matter of continuing to stress the *true facts* of American history, and not teach children what to many are "politically correct" distortions of our past history.

I understand that the United States Senate has already passed a resolution rejecting the *Standards*.

Henry Abel Kittredge
Mercersburg PA

Notices

MHS Book Prize Winners

The Maryland Historical Society awards a prize of $1,000 every other year to the author of the best book on Maryland history and culture to have appeared in the previous two years. The co-winners of the 1995 book award are Jean B. Lee for *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County* (W. W. Norton & Co.), and James Horn, author of *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture) [reviewed in this issue]. In addition, honorable mention goes to James B. Dilts, who wrote *The Great Road: The Building of the Baltimore & Ohio, the Nation's First Railroad, 1828–1853 (Stanford University Press), John Sherwood for Maryland's Vanishing Lives* (Johns Hopkins University Press), and to Pat Vojtech, author of *Chesapeake Bay Skipjacks* (Tidewater Publishers).

Quilt Voices Receives National Recognition

The American Association for State and Local History has awarded a Certificate of Commendation to *Quilt Voices,* which was developed at the Maryland Historical Society for the exhibition "Lavish Legacies." This performance of dramatic readings, interprets nineteenth-century women's history using the letters and diaries of Baltimore women. *Quilt Voices* was presented at fifteen sites throughout the state, and received funding from the Maryland Humanities Council.

Parker and Harris Genealogy Prize Winners

The Maryland Historical Society is pleased to announce the winners of two prizes for the best Maryland-related genealogical works received by the MHS library in 1994. The Sumner A. and Dudrea Parker Prize for the best work on Maryland families is awarded to the compilers of two works on the Price family of Cecil County, Maryland: Walter Zane Collings Sr., for *William Price of Elk River, Cecil County, Maryland (ante-1644–1703/1704) and Some of His Descendants,* and Walter Z. Collings and Virginia H. Craven for *A Potpourri of Price Families of Cecil County, Maryland, 16XX–1965.* The Norris Harris Prize for the best source book on Maryland is awarded to V. L. Skinner Jr., for his four-volume work, *Abstracts of the Inventories and Accounts of the Prerogative Court of Maryland, 1703–1711, 1711–1713, 1712–1716, 1715–1718.*

Society for Military History Annual Meeting

The Central Intelligence Agency will host the 63rd annual meeting of the Society for Military History, April 18–21, 1996, in Rosslyn, Virginia. The host has chosen the theme, "Intelligence and National Security in Peace, Crisis, and War." Prospective papers may treat this theme in any historical period or area, and papers or panels on other themes are also welcome. Deadline for proposals is November 1, 1995. To propose either a complete session or an individual paper, please submit a one-page statement of session purpose for a panel, a one-page abstract for each paper, and a brief vita for each presenter, to Dr. Kevin C. Ruffner, SMH 1996 Program Coordinator, History Staff, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. 20505. Those interested may also call (703) 351-2621, or send a fax to (703) 522-9280.

Pennsylvania Scholars-In-Residence Program

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission invites applications for its 1996–1997 scholars-in-residence program. This program provides support for full-time research and study at any of the facilities maintained by the commission for a period of four to twelve consecutive weeks between May 1, 1996 and April 30, 1997, at a rate of $1,200 per month. The program is open to all who are conducting research on Pennsylvania history, including academic scholars, professionals in history-related disciplines, writers, and others. Application deadline is January 12, 1996. For more information or to receive application materials, write to the Division of History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Box 1026, Harrisburg, PA 17108, or call (717) 787-3034.

War of 1812 Lecture

Christopher T. George, an editorial associate of this magazine and a regular contributor, will speak at the Star Spangled Banner Flag House and Museum (344 E. Pratt Street, Baltimore) on November 5 at 2 P.M. The subject will be "George R. Kleig, Chronicler of the British Attacks on Washington and Baltimore in 1814."

Visions of Love and Life at the Delaware Art Museum

For the first time, an exhibition drawn from England's most famous collection of Pre-Raphaelite art travels to the United States in "Visions of Love and Life: Pre-Raphaelite Art from the Birmingham Collection, England." The Delaware Art Museum in Wilmington is the only venue in the Northeast for this traveling exhibition, as well as the only stop on the tour with its own major collection of Pre-Raphaelite art. Over one hundred works are on display through October 15, 1995. For more information, call (302) 571-9590.

J.M.P.

Historic Trees of Maryland: A Series

This giant tree (cedrus libani) at Hampton National Historic Site in Towson is popularly known as the Cedar of Lebanon. It was planted circa 1835 under the direction of Eliza Ridgely, third mistress of Hampton, who brought the cedar from Europe as a seedling—in a shoe box, according to family tradition. Its location, slightly west of the exact middle of the Great Terrace at Hampton, was deliberately planned in keeping with the asymmetrical precepts of the horticulturist Andrew Jackson Downing (1815–1852), to whose design ideals Eliza Ridgely was sympathetic. The Cedar of Lebanon is recorded in *The Big Tree Champions of Maryland 1990* as having a circumference of eleven feet, four inches, a height of sixty-four feet, and a spread of seventy-eight feet. It is under the care of a professional horticulturist at Hampton, where the grounds, with more than two hundred specimen trees and several other state champions, are open daily between 9:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. (From notes supplied by Lynne Dakin Hastings, Curator, Hampton National Historic Site; photograph by Jeff Goldman.)

Readers are invited to submit photographs and notes on historic trees for this series.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Challenge your knowledge of Maryland's Civil War history by identifying this group of Baltimore women. What part did they play immortalizing Maryland's southern sympathies?

The Summer 1995 Picture Puzzle depicts the building of rowhouses in the neighborhood of St. Helena, which is on the National Register of Historic Places, in Dundalk in 1918. During World War I, Bethlehem Steel and its companion shipyard went into full production and needed adequate worker housing which the Liberty Housing Company and the U.S. Emergency Fleet Corporation constructed. Baltimore architect Edward Palmer Jr., in cooperation with Edward H. Bouton, president of the Roland Park Company designed the houses as well as the street plans. After the war, the houses were sold to individual buyers.

Our congratulations to Mr. Frederick M. Biggs, James B. Hammond, M.D., Raymond and Percy Martin, John Riggs Orrick, Lynne Price, Frances A. Randall, Cynthia Requardt, E. Joseph Sebly, Davis Streaker, and James T. Wollon Jr., who correctly identified the Spring 1995 Picture Puzzle.

Maryland History Bibliography, 1994: A Selected List

ANNE S. K. TURKOS and JEFF KORMAN, COMPILERS

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* publishes annually a selected list of books, articles, and doctoral dissertations pertaining to Maryland history. The list printed here is based on a master bibliography maintained continuously at the McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park. Bibliography is never-ending enterprise. Readers may wish to contact the McKeldin Library for bibliographical reference or to suggest additions. Address inquiries to:

Anne S. K. Turkos
Archives and Manuscripts Department
McKeldin Library
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742

General

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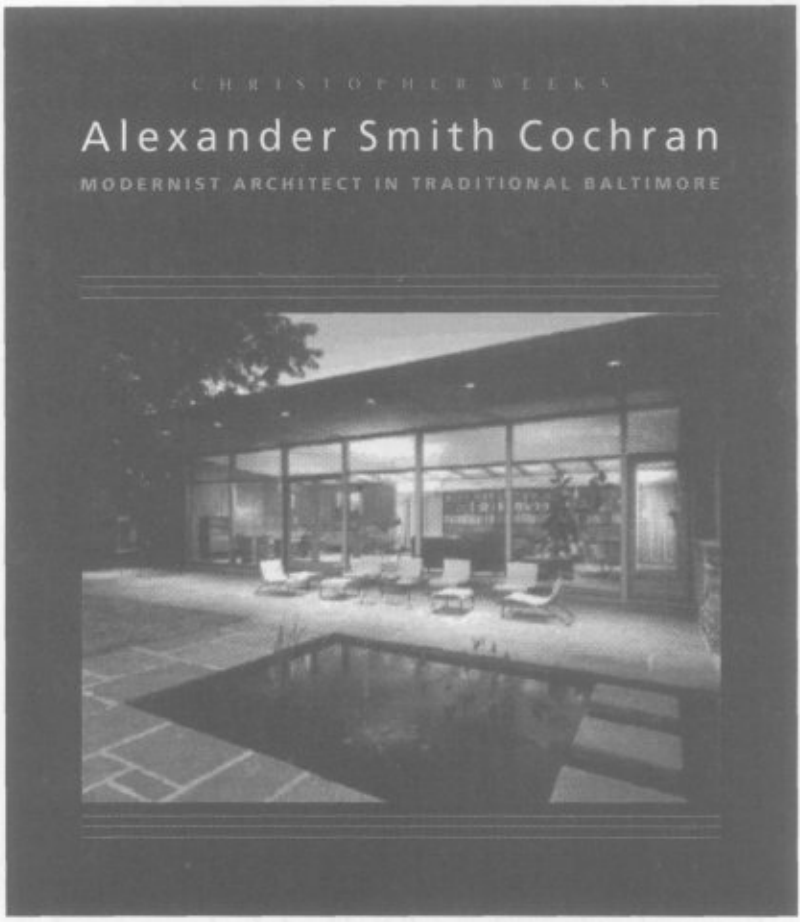

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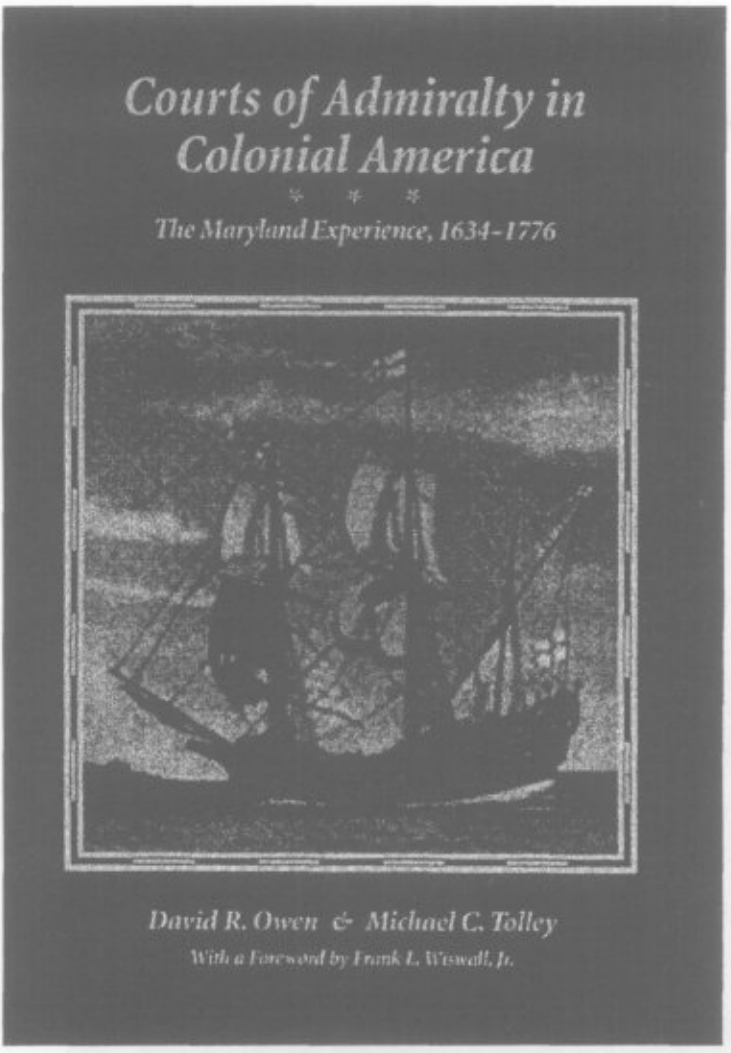

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